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LADY JANE GREY,

AND

HER TIMES.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.



LADY JANE GREY.

Engraved from a portrait by Sir Isaac Oliver, painted in 1553.

London: Published Dec^r 1821 by Sherwood, Neely & Sons, Paternoster Row.

LADY JÁNE GREY,

AND

HER TIMES.



BY GEORGE HOWARD, ESQ.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, NEELY, AND JONES,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1822.

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P R E F A C E.

IN the present age of historical research, and of recorded usurpation, no apology seems necessary for bringing before the public the various events connected with the brief but eventful life and reign of an *Innocent Usurper*, the victim of parental ambition, and a sacrifice to filial obedience.

That period in the sixteenth century between the turbulent and tyrannic reign of the last Henry, and the glorious though despotic one of his daughter Elizabeth—a period of only *twelve* years—has been but slightly noticed by general historians, who have expatiated upon little beyond the precocity of the royal infant, Edward, and the gloomy yet

ferocious bigotry of his intolerant sister : the unsettled state of one reign marked by the too frequent political use of the fatal scaffold ; and the religious prejudices of the other too strongly shown by the flames of the martyrs' stake.

Yet that period, though short, is replete with much of high interest to the antiquary, to the philosopher, to the man of taste, and to the Christian ; for then was the infancy of our arts, our knowledge, our manners, and our reformed faith.

Impressed with this conviction, we have endeavoured to draw from the dust of antiquity every important anecdote or illustration referring to, or delineative of, that era ; but more particularly as connected specifically with the life of one whose short course has hitherto been rather considered in a political than in a biographical point of view. In do-

ing this, we have left no source of information untouched: and have thus been enabled to lay before our readers a series of facts, anecdotes, and documents, unknown, or, at least, yet unnoticed; most of which bear strongly upon the history of our country, and many of them tending to correct our opinions as to the characters of men, and our knowledge of manners of that day.

If strict fidelity and adherence to truth, without party bias either historical or systematic, may be a passport to approval, to that we can fearlessly lay claim. How far true taste has been consulted in the arrangement, or true judgment in the selection, we must leave for the public to appreciate.

LONDON,
Dec. 1, 1821.

LADY JANE GREY,

AND HER TIMES.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Remarks—Characters of Lady Jane, by contemporary Writers, &c.—Family of Grey—Family of Widvile—Of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk—Genealogical and chivalrous Anecdotes—Rise and Anecdotes of the Reformation—First Printing and Dissemination of the Bible—Cranmer's famous Letter—Papal Incroachments—Anecdotes of Mary, Dowager of France; of Queen Katharine of Arragon; of the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen; of Henry VIII. &c. &c.

IF from the study of History, general political knowledge is to be acquired, it is from Biography that we are to learn the best practical lessons of domestic virtue. The subject, however, selected for the following pages, combines both these advantages; taking up that most important period in the history of our country—the Reformation, in addition to the picture that it draws of youthful excellence, humility, and piety, and that, too in the highest ranks of society—a picture which

may operate both as an apology and example for those in more splendid stations,—as a lesson of liberality, and an excitement to emulation in the more humble and retired walks of life.

The era also is fertile in opportunities of illustrating the infancy of modern elegance—of sketching the last shadows of departing feudal magnificence and manners—of filling up the faint outline of recollected old English customs—and of comparing all these with “things as they are.”

But the most important point is to delineate the life of one, so placed as to be the most conspicuous mark for envy or prejudice, both political and religious; and yet of one, of whom not even contemporary historians have dared to speak ill, though to gratify a reigning rival. Protestant writers have, indeed, in general, spoken so highly of her, that some of the *liberals* of the present day have hinted, that “perhaps” she was rather glorified as a political martyr, than correctly described as an illustrious female. But it shall be our task to show, from the most authentic, and some yet untouched sources, that the most poetically animated descriptions of Lady Jane Grey are completely borne out by facts, on the concurrent testimony even of contending writers.

That her praises have been so energetically expressed, as in some measure to justify doubt in this age of historical scepticism, cannot indeed be absolutely denied! Different, however, was the opinion of no mean poet,

who, in a volunteer prologue to Rowe's well known tragedy on this interesting subject, observes, that

“ Nobly to bear the changes of our state,
To stand unmoved against the storms of fate
A brave contempt of life and grandeur lost,
Such glorious toils a female name can boast.
Our author draws not beauty's heavenly smile,
T' invite our wishes and our hearts beguile ;
No soft enchantments languish in her eye,
No blossoms fade nor sickening roses die ;
A nobler passion every breast must move
Than youthful raptures or the joys of love ;
A mind unchanged, superior to a crown,
Bravely defies the angry tyrant's frown ;
The same if fortune sinks or mounts on high,
Or if the world's extended ruins lie ;
With generous scorn she lays the sceptre down ;
Great souls shine brightest by misfortunes shown :
With patient courage she sustains the blow,
And triumphs o'er variety of woe.”

But, of the more ancient writers, we may notice that Burton, speaking of her in his *Additions to Leicestershire*, calls her “ that most noble and admired princess, Jane Grey ; who being but young, at the age of seventeen years, as John Bale writeth, attained to such excellent learning, both in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and also in the study of divinity, by the instruction of Mr. Aylmer, as appeareth by her many writings, letters, &c. that, as Mr. Fox saith of her, had her fortune been answerable to her bringing up, undoubtedly she might have been compared to the house of Vespasians, Sempronians, and Cornelia, mother of

the Gracchi in Rome; and, in these days, the chiefest men in the universities.”

Fox, in his character of her in his *Acts and Monuments*, also says that she had the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, yet the death of a malefactor for her parents’ offences. He adds, “ I confess I never read of any canonized saint of her name; a thing whereof some papists are so scrupulous, that they count it an unclean and unhallowed thing to be of a name whereof never any saint was—but let this worthy lady pass for a saint; and let all great ladies which bear her name imitate her virtues; to whom I wish her inward holiness, but far more outward happiness.”

Another writer states her to have had a perfection, noble, holy, and worthy all good men’s imitation, with a strength matchless and invincible, especially remarkable in one of the softer sex. He calls her a Sheba that had so oft heard the wisdom of Solomon, that ten thousand of her contemporary Solomons might come to be instructed by this Sheba. In short, a lady in all goodness so perfect, that whosoever could gain but some part of her shadow, might have enough in latter days to boast, and rank themselves with the best that are called virtuous. He adds, that she was brought up in learning and religion with that prosperous and

devout painfulness, that, as seed cast upon the best and most fruitful ground, she brought forth her increase in such abundance of infinites, that the least of her excellencies were impossible to be circumscribed.

Old Fuller speaking of her, in his "Worthies of England," quaintly observes, that no lady which led so many pious, lived so few pleasant days; whose soul was never out of the nonage of afflictions, till death made her of full years to inherit happiness: so severe was her education. He adds, that to her, whilst a child; her father's house was a house of correction; nor did she write woman, sooner than she did subscribe wife, and in obedience to her parents, was unfortunately matched to the Lord Guilford Dudley; yet, says Fuller, he was a goodly, and (for aught I find to the contrary) a godly gentleman, whose worst fault was, that he was son to an ambitious father.

In short we may exclaim, as in the established prologue to Rowe's tragedy—

Oh! could our author's pencil justly paint
Such as she was in life the beauteous saint,
Boldly your strict attention might we claim,
And bid you mark and copy out the dame.
No wandering glance one wanton thought confess'd,
No guilty wish inflamed her spotless breast;
The only love that warm'd her blooming youth
Was husband, England, liberty, and truth:
For these she fell, while with too weak a hand
She strove to save a blind ungrateful land.

• Her general story is too well known for us to fear

the charge of anticipation, in adding from the same quaint writer, that she was proclaimed but never crowned queen, living in the Tower, which place, though it hath or had a double capacity of a palace and a prison, yet appeared to her chiefly in the latter relation: for she was longer a captive than a queen therein, taking no contentment all the time, save what she found in God, and a clear conscience. He closes with the observation, that her family, by snatching at a crown, which was not, lost a coronet which was their own: let us add too, that this family had already arrived at the highest rank and power which subjects can or ought to possess, founded indeed on personal merit as well as in antiquity of lineage.

Her family, of GREY, was originally of Norman extraction: their coat of arms, Barry of six, *argent and azure*; in chief three torteauxes, *ermine*: the motto, *A ma puissance*.

Rollo, or Fulbert, was the first of the family on record. He was chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, and had from him, by gift, the castle and lands of Croy in Picardy; from whence the surname of the race became de Croy, or subsequently de Grey.

John Lord de Croy, only son of *Rollo*, married *Adela*, daughter and co-heir of William Fitz-Osbert, by whom he had a son—

Sir *Arnold* de Grey, who at, or soon after the Norman Conquest, became lord of Water Eaton, Stoke,

and Rotherfield. By his wife Joan, daughter and heiress of the Baron of Ponte de l'Arche, he had a son—

Anchitel de Grey, who held various grants of land in Oxfordshire. His wife is unknown; and his only son—

Richard de Grey, married Mabilia, also of a family not upon record, by whom he left several sons, the eldest of whom—

Anchitel de Grey, married Eva, daughter of Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon, and their eldest son—

John de Grey, marrying Hawise, of a family not recorded, had several children, the third of whom—

Henry de Grey, had a grant from Richard I. of the lands of Thurrock in Essex, with several other estates. He married Isolda, co-heiress of the Lords Bardolph, in 1300. Of this Henry de Grey the following notice may be found in the ancient heraldic poem, called the Siege of Karlaverok :

“ Henry de Grai vi je la,
Ki bien et noblement ala
Ovec son bon Seigneur le Conte :
Banier avoit e pardroit conte
De vi pieces la vous mesur,
Barre de argent e de asur.

I saw there Henry de Grai, who made a noble appearance with his good Lord, the Earl; his banner, being rightly reckoned, was barry of six pieces argent and azure.”

John de Grey, second son of Henry, rose to various high offices in the state, dying in 1266. He married

Emma, daughter and heiress of Geoffry de Glanville; and their son—

Reginald de Grey, first summoned to parliament as Lord Grey de Ruthyn, married Maud, daughter and heiress of Henry de Longchamp, Baron of Wilton; and their son—

John de Grey, by his second wife, Maud, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton, left a son—

Roger de Grey, who inherited the title of Ruthyn, that of Grey de Wilton going to the eldest son by the first wife. This Roger married Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Hastings of Bergavenny, and heir to John, Earl of Pembroke; and their second son—

Reginald de Grey, who was commander of all the king's castles in Wales in the reign of Edward III. succeeded to the title of Ruthyn, by the death of his elder brother. He married Eleanor, daughter of Lord Strange of Blackmere; his only son and heir, by whom,

Reginald de Grey, after being long time a prisoner to Owen Glendower, recovered in the court of chivalry, against Sir Edward Hastings, the right to the name and arms of Lord Hastings, in right of his grandmother. He married Joan, daughter and heir of William, Lord Astley, for his second wife, and by her had three sons; the eldest of whom,

Sir *Edward* de Grey, marrying Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Henry, son and heir of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, was summoned to par-

liament, in virtue of that marriage, as Lord Ferrers, in 1446. Their son—

Sir *John* Grey, who succeeded as Lord Ferrers, and was slain at the battle of St. Alban's, in 1460, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Widvile, Earl of Rivers; she, after his death, marrying King Edward IV. as represented by Shakspeare, in his tragedy of Richard III.

The family of Widvile cannot be traced of higher antiquity than the reign of Edward III. when Richard de Widvile was sheriff of Northamptonshire. His son, John de Widvile; held the same office as his father, and several others, and had a son Richard, who, in addition to his paternal offices, was constable of the Tower of London, in the reign of Henry VI., and distinguished himself in the wars in France. If not of a very old family himself, he conferred a most ancient line of blood upon his descendants, by his marriage with Jacqueline, Duchess Dowager of Bedford, daughter of Peter de Luxemburg, Earl of St. Pol, descended also from the family of Baux, Dukes of Andree, and from Lusignan, King of Cyprus, during the Crusades.

This Richard de Widvile was created Earl of Rivers by Edward IV. his son-in-law; a title which descended to his son Anthony, whose fall, through the political tyranny of Richard III., is immortalized by Shakspeare, and thus announced to his royal sister :

Arch. Here comes a messenger :
What news?

Mess. Such news, my lord,
As grieves me to unfold.

Q. Eliz. How doth the prince?

Mess. Well, madam, and in health.

Duch. What is thy news?

Mess. Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent to Pomfret,
With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

Duch. Who hath committed them?

Mess. The mighty dukes,
Gloster and Buckingham.

Q. Eliz. For what offence?

Mess. The sum of all I can, I have disclosed ;
Why, or for what, the nobles were committed,
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

Q. Eliz. Ah me, I see the ruin of my house !
The tiger now hath seized the gentle hind ;
Insulting tyranny begins to jut
Upon the innocent and awless throne :
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre !
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

By the same exquisite poet the fate of Rivers is
thus described :—

Rat. Come, bring forth the prisoners.

Riv. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this :
To-day shalt thou behold a subject die,
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

Grey. God keep the prince from all the pack of you !
A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

Vaugh. You live, that shall cry woe for this hereafter.

Rat. Despatch : the limit of your lives is out.

Riv. O Pomfret, Pomfret ! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers !
Within the guilty closure of thy walls,

Richard the Second here was hack'd to death :
 And, for more slander to thy disinal seat,
 We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

Grey. Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon our heads,
 When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I,
 For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

Riv. Then cursed she Hastings, then cursed she Buckingham :—

Then cursed she Richard.—O, remember, God,
 To hear her prayers for them, as now for us !
 And for my sister, and her princely sons,—
 Be satisfied, dear God, with our true bloods,
 Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt !

Rut. Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.

Riv. Come, Grey,—come, Vaughan,—let us here embrace :
 Farewell, until we meet again in heaven.

Of this Anthony Widvile, “ the gallant Earl of Rivers,” it may be interesting to record a sonnet written by him during his cruel confinement in Pomfret Castle, previous to this his unjust execution by the tyrant Richard :

“ Sumwhat musyng, and more mornyng,
 In remembring the unстыdfastnes ;
 This world being of such whilyng,
 Me contraricing, what may I gesse ?
 I fere dowlles, remediles,
 Is now to sese my woful chaunce,
 So is this traunce now in substaunce,
 * * * * Such is my dawnce.

• Wylyng to dye, me thynkys truly
 Bowndyn am I, and that gretly, to be content :
 Seyng playnly, that fortune doth wry,

All contrary from myn content.
 My lyff was lent me to an intent,
 Hytt is ny spent. Welcome fortune !
 But I ne went thus to be shent,
 But sho hit must, such is hur won."

During the latter part of Edward's reign, he had mingled much in court politics, from whence arose the quarrel with Hastings, which Shakspeare so pointedly alludes to in King Edward's death scene; so as to make it one of the most important features in the politics of his play, bringing round the dying monarch all the characters connected with this part of our memoir :

K. Edw. Why, so:—now have I done a good day's work ;
 You peers, continue this united league :
 I every day expect an embassage
 From my Redeemer to redeem me hence ;
 And more in peace my soul shall part to heaven,
 Since I have made my friends at peace on earth.
 Rivers, and Hastings, take each other's hand ;
 Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.

Riv. By heaven, my soul is purged from grudging hate ;
 And with my hand I seal my true heart's love.

Hast. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like !

K. Edw. Take heed, you dally not before your king ;
 Lest he, that is the supreme King of kings,
 Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
 Either of you to be the other's end.

Hast. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love !

Riv. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart !

K. Edw. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this,—
 Nor your son Desset,—Buckingham, nor you ;—
 You have been factious one against the other.
 Wife, love Lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand ;
 And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. Eliz. There, Hastings; I will never more remember
Our former hatred, so thrive I, and mine!

K. Edw. Dorset, embrace him;—Hastings, love lord marquis.

Dor. This interchange of love, I here protest,
Upon my part, shall be inviolable.

Hast. And so swear I.

K. Edw. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this league
With thy embracements to my wife's allies,
And make me happy in your unity.

Buck. Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
Upon your grace, [*To the queen*] but with all dutious love
Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love!
When I have most need to employ a friend,
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he unto me! this do I beg of heaven,
When I am cold in love to you or yours.

Sir *Thomas* Grey, eldest son of Sir John and Elizabeth Widvile, succeeded as Lord Ferrers of Groby, and held many high offices under Henry VII. by whom he was created a Knight of the Garter, Earl of Huntingdon, and Marquis of Dorset. He married, to his second wife, Cicely, daughter and heir of William Lord Bonville and Harrington. His personal services to his country led him to public honours as much as his personal connexion with the crown—more, indeed; for during the wars of the Roses, the Grey family adhered to the House of Lancaster, and had been particularly active in behalf of Henry VI.

The royal marriage, however, naturally produced a change in his politics; and, on Edward's death, he is thus described addressing his twice widowed mother, in concert with his uncle Anthony:—

Dor. Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeased
That you take with unthankfulness his doing;
In common worldly things, 'tis call'd—ungrateful,
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt,
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you.

Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince, your son: send straight for him.
Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

Under the tyrant Richard, however, his affinity to the infant monarch was to him a source of the greatest danger, for in the first year of that reign, so well illustrated by the bard of the Avon, he was attainted; but, having taken sanctuary, he afterwards escaped from his enemies, and fled into Brittany, to the aid of Henry Earl of Richmond, who there had 5000 men ready for an attack upon the usurper.

It was in allusion to this that Shakespeare introduces the following passage, in the admired scene before the gates of the Tower, as Richard was marching against Richmond, and in which the queen makes the marked distinction between the issue of her two

marriages: an historical correctness omitted in the green-room copies of the play.

Q. Eliz. Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to
curse

Abides in me; I say amen to her.

K. Rich. Stay, madam, I must speak a word with you.

Q. Eliz. I have no more sons of the *royal* blood,
For thee to murder: for my daughters, Richard,—
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.

That Dorset's flight to Richmond was by his mother's advice, seems to have been Shakspeare's opinion; perhaps founded upon the traditions of the time: when Elizabeth hears of Richard's intended coronation, she exclaims:—

Q. Eliz. Ah, cut my lace asunder!

That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news.

Annc. Despiteful tidings! O displeasing news!

Dor. Be of good cheer:—Mother, how fares your grace?

Q. Eliz. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee gone,
Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children:
If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell.
Go, hie thee, hie thee, from this slaughter-house,
Lest thou increase the number of the dead;
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse,
Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen.

Stan. Full of wise care is this your counsel, madam:
Take all the swift advantage of the hours;
You shall have letters from me to my son
In your behalf, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

The queen dowager, being flattered by the promises of Richard, was induced to invite Dorset home again to England ; and he, not being very sanguine as to Richmond's chance of success, was persuaded, by her representations, even to quit Paris on his journey homewards.

The whole of our bard's admired play is so illustrative upon the history of this period, that we cannot omit the following passage in Richard's conference with the queen, alluding particularly to this circumstance ; when the tyrant says :—

Dorset, your son, that, with a fearful soul,
 Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,
 This fair alliance quickly shall call home
 To high promotions and great dignity :
 The king, that calls your beauteous daughter—wife,
 Familiarly shall call thy Dorset—brother ;
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times
 Repaired with double riches of content.

Meeting with some unexpected cause of detention on his way, and falling in with an old friend, Humphrey Cheney, Dorset was convinced, by that gentleman's information, of the danger attendant upon trusting to the crafty tyrant ; so that he returned to Richmond, accompanied him upon his expedition, and, on his accession, was sworn in a privy counsellor.

Shakspeare again alludes to this in the same play :—

Stan. Richmond is on the seas.

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the seas on him !
White-liver'd runagate ! what doth he there ?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. Rich. Well, as you guess ?

Stan. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton,
• He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

K. Rich. Is the chair empty ? is the sword unsway'd ?
Is the king dead ? the empire unpossess'd ?
What heir of York is there alive, but we ?
And who is England's king, but great York's heir ?
Then, tell me, what makes he upon the seas ?

It appears, however, from the same authority, that Dorset did not accompany, but preceded Henry, from the following passage :—

4 *Mc.ss.* Sir Thomas Lovell, and Lord Marquis Dorset,
'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.
But this good comfort bring I to your highness,—
The Bretagne navy is dispersed by tempest :
Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks,
If they were his assistants, yea, or no ?
Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
Upon his party : he, mistrusting them,
Hois'd sail, and made his course again for Bretagne.

Seven years afterwards, on account of some political jealousy, he was committed a prisoner to the Tower, but soon released ; and, in 1491, he was entrusted with a command in the army that went in aid of the Emperor Maximilian against the French. In 1495, he was again in military command in the troops which overcame the rebel Lord Audley and his forces on Blackheath.

Notwithstanding these public services, he employed much of his time in private life; residing rather at his mansions of Bradgate and Groby, in Leicestershire, than in the vortex of politics at court. At Groby (as we shall have occasion presently to notice) he made many repairs and improvements; and died in 1501, during the reign of his royal patron, with whose blood his own was shortly after to mix in genealogical descent. That his moral were equal to his political virtues, is generally acknowledged; yet a passage in his will, agreeable to the Catholic superstitions of those days, strongly marks either the power of conscience, or perhaps rather the mental and obituary influence of the greedy priesthood of Rome; for he not only left money to pay for one hundred masses by the friars of the four orders in London, but specifically directed that it should be done “with as much haste as may be” after his decease!

Thomas Grey, son of the foregoing, was second Marquis of Dorset, Knight of the Garter, and a great favourite of Henry VIII.; in the third year of whose reign, 1511, he was general of the army sent into Spain, with design, in conjunction with the Emperor Ferdinand's forces, to have invaded Guienne. But peace being restored, he, two years afterwards, with four of his brothers, the Duke of Suffolk, and others, went to Paris, and engaged in the tournaments at St. Denis, where he acquired great renown. In 1520 he

was present at the interview between Henry and the French monarch, Francis, in Picardy, at the famous *Champ d'Or*, or Field of Gold, so called from its magnificence, where he carried the sword of state, the Duke of Bourbon carrying that of France: and there too in the tournament he was again victorious. The pomp of this scene has been described by various historians. Shakspeare makes the Duke of Norfolk thus speak of it, in the first act of Henry VIII.

Nor. Men might say,
Till this time, pomp was single; but now married
To one above itself. Each following day
Became the next day's master, till the last
Made former wonders its. To-day, the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
Made Britain, India: every man, that stood,
Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubins, all gilt: the madams too,
Not used to toil, did almost sweat to bear
The pride upon them, that their very labour
Was to them as a painting: now this mask
Was cried incomparable; and the ensuing night
Made it a fool, and beggar. The two kings,
Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
As presence did present them: him in eye,
Still him in praise: and being present both,
'Twas said, they saw but one; and no discernor
Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns
(For so they phrase them), by their heralds challenged
The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass; that former fabulous story,
Being now seen possible enough, got credit,
That Bevis was believed.

In 1522 he was chosen to go to Calais, to receive and to escort the Emperor Charles V. into England; two years after which he was constituted chief justice itinerant of all the king's forests. He married, to his second wife, by whom he had Henry, the third marquis, Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton in Kent, and widow of William Medley.

To enumerate all his military actions (but to some of which we shall presently allude) would occupy too much space, only observing, that, agreeable to the custom of those times, he was both a military and naval officer: we must not, however, pass over one very important part which he took in the politics of that day, being a witness in the cause of divorce between King Henry and Katharine of Arragon, though he did not live to see that divorce completed. In that same year, 1529, he also subscribed and presented to the king the forty-four articles impeaching Cardinal Wolsey; and it is worthy of notice, that the 19th of April in that very year was the date of the protest of the German princes, against a decree of the diet in regard to the reformed religion, from whence the term "protestant" has been applied to that purified faith.

This is the more worthy of notice, because the reformed system of Christianity, before introduced into England by Wickliffe, was now making great advances: its support and maintenance, a few years afterwards, being one great and powerful cause of that proposed

change in the succession which called Lady Jane to the crown, though it had not sufficient power to save her from the scaffold.

As early almost as the commencement of Henry's reign, Wolsey had shown his enmity to heretics. The situation of the reformed, or Lollards, as they were termed, was then very distressing. Fuller, in his Church History, observes, that cruelty still continued and increased on them even after abjuration, being forced to wear the fashion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted on their left sleeves, all the days of their lives; it being death to put on their clothes without that cognizance: and indeed, he adds, to poor people it was true, "put it off, and be burned; keep it on, and be starved;" seeing none generally would set them to work that carried that badge about them.

It was soon after that period that Henry VIII. having published his work against Luther, supposed by Fuller to have been principally collected by Gardiner, was honoured by the pope with the title of Defender of the Faith; with which his majesty was so much elated, that his jester, or fool, Will Somers, coming to the court, could not help observing it. Honest Will boldly asked his patron the cause of his exultation; and when the king answered, that it arose from the holy father having honoured him with a title more eminent than any possessed by his ancestors, the fool very wisely exclaimed—"Oh! good Harry; let

thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself!"

Henry, however, did not take the fool's advice, for Wolsey was then in high favour at court, as appears from the following original epistle, now preserved in the British Museum*:

" Myne owne good Cardnall,—I recomande me unto you w^t all my hart, and thanke you for the gratte payne and labour that you doe dayly take in my bysynes and maters. Desyryng you (that wen you have well establyshyd them) to take sune pastyme and comfort, (to the intente you may the longer endure to serve us,) for allways payne cannot be induryd. Surly you have so substancyally orderyd oure maters, bothe of thys syde the see and byonde, that in mye oppynyon lityll or nothyng can be addyd. Nevertheles, accordyng to your desyre, I doe send you myne oppynyon by thys beror, the refformacion wherof I do remyte to you and the remnante off our trusty cōsellors, whyche I am sure wyll substantiallyl loke on hyt. As touchyng the mater that Syr Wylliam Say brought answer off, I am well contentyd w^t what order soever you do loke in itt. The quene my wyff hathe desyryd me to make her most harty recommendations to you as to hym that she loveth very well, and bothe she and I wolde knowe sougne when you wyll repayre to us. No

* Brit. Mus. Cott. Vesp. F. xiii. p. 71.

more to you at thys tyme, but that with God's helpe,
 I trust we shalle dysapoynte oure enemys off theyre
 intendyd ppose. Wryttyn with the hand of your lov-
 yng master

HENRY REX.

'To my Lorde Cardinale."

These "harty recommendations" of the queen were afterwards changed to different feelings when she discovered that Wolsey was playing a false part towards her. Shakspeare indeed represents her as an active agent in his disgrace :

Q. Kath. I am solicited, not by a few,
 And those of true condition, that your subjects
 Are in great grievance : there have been commissions
 Sent down among them, which hath flaw'd the heart
 Of all their loyalties :—wherein, although,
 My good lord cardinal, they vent reproaches
 Most bitterly on you, as putter-on
 Of these exactions, yet the king our master
 (Whose honour heaven shield from soil !) even he escapes not
 Language unmannerly ; yea, such which breaks
 The sides of loyalty, and almost appears
 In loud rebellion.

Again she says :

Q. Kath. No, my lord,
 You know no more than others : but you frame
 Things, that are known alike ; which are not wholesome
 To those which would not know them, and yet must
 Perforce be their acquaintance These exactions,
 Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are

Most pestilent to the hearing ; and, to bear them,
The back is sacrifice to the load. They say,
They are devised by you ; or else you suffer
Too hard an exclamation.

K. Hen. Still exaction !

The nature of it ? In what kind, let's know,
Is this exaction ?

Q. Kath. I am much too venturous
In tempting of your patience ; but am bolden'd
Under your promised pardon. The subject's grief
Comes through commissions, which compel from each
The sixth part of his substance, to be levied
Without delay ; and the pretence for this
Is named, your wars in France : this makes bold mouths :
Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze
Allegiance in them ; their curses now,
Live where their prayers did ; and it's come to pass,
That tractable obedience is a slave
To each incensed will. I would, your highness
Would give it quick consideration, for
There is no primer business.

Notwithstanding this love and regard for the Cardinal, Henry, some years afterwards, thought proper to take the fool's advice, urged by qualms of conscience, real or pretended, by love for a young wife in expectation, and perhaps by a secret longing after the coffers of the clergy. This idea is fully confirmed by Shakespeare in his Henry VIII.

Wol. What should this mean ?

What sudden anger's this ? how have I reap'd it ?

He parted from me, as if ruin

Leap'd from his eyes : so looks the chafed lion

Upon the daring huntsman that has gall'd him ;

Then makes him nothing. I must read this paper :

I fear, the story of his anger.—'Tis so ;
 This paper has undone me :—'Tis the account
 Of all that world of wealth I have drawn together
 For mine own ends ; indeed, to gain the popedom,
 And see my friends in Rome. O negligence,
 Fit for a fool to fall by ! What cross devil
 Made me put this main secret in the packet,
 I sent the king ? Is there no way to cure this ?
 No new device to beat this from his brains ?
 I know, 'twill stir him strongly : yet I know
 A way, if it take right, in spite of fortune,
 Will bring me off again. What's this—*To the Pope ?*
 The letter, as I live, with all the business
 I writ to his holiness. Nay, then, farewell !
 I have touch'd the highest point of all my greatness ;
 And, from that full meridian of my glory,
 I haste now to my setting : I shall fall
 Like a bright exhalation in the evening,
 And no man see me more.

The purport of this letter is explained by Brandon,
 Duke of Suffolk :

Suff. The cardinal's letter to the pope miscarried,
 And came to the eye o' the king ; wherein was read,
 How that the cardinal did entreat his holiness
 To stay the judgment o' the divorce : for if
 It did take place, *I do*, quoth he, *perceive*
My king is tangled in affection to
A creature of the queen's, Lady Ann Bullen.

To us, at the present day, however, it is not of material consequence what were the motives that led that tyrannical, yet often judicious monarch, to the measures which permitted the reformed principles to spread over the land, to be at last consolidated by law, and engrafted on the constitution : but it will not be the

less interesting to take a cursory view of the subject here, for better understanding the very interesting facts which we have selected, as illustrative of the private history of the times, from original and unique manuscripts in the British Museum, and other sources, hitherto unpublished.

It is well observed by an accurate ecclesiastical historian*, that about the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated†, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since the dreadful commotions excited in preceding ages had yielded to the united powers of counsel and of the sword.

It is not to be concluded, however, from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This, as the learned Mosheim observes, was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the popes; the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their councils; the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates; the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations;

* Mosheim.

† Ibid. iv. 7.

the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws.

If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, it was the restoration of learning in Europe, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that sudden revolution.

The good resulting from this was manifold. Enfield, in his *Philosophy*, speaking of the corruptions which had crept into the church, observes, that after the example of the apostles, their immediate followers, who are distinguished by the name of apostolic men, were more desirous to teach the divine doctrine which they had received from Jesus Christ in simplicity and truth, than to render themselves illustrious by any display of human learning*.

They had no other design than to spread the knowledge of Christ and his Gospel in the world; and they executed this design with simplicity, fidelity, and magnanimity, without the aid of rhetorical embellishment or philosophical refinement.

The fathers of the Christian church soon departed from the simplicity of the apostolic age, and corrupted the purity of the Christian faith. This is chiefly to be ascribed to two causes; first, the practice, which at that time so generally prevailed, of clothing the doctrines of religion in an allegorical dress; and, secondly,

* Enfield's *Philosophy*, ii. 271.

the habit of subtle speculation, which the more learned converts from paganism brought with them from the schools of philosophy. In all these corruptions the English church had largely participated. The wealth of this country was a powerful stimulus to the pope, and the Roman catholic clergy, to keep the people in ignorance, and so to preserve due control over their consciences and purses; but the day of truth was now beginning to dawn.

It is an important truth, that the English nation was at this period not only forward to receive the truths of the Reformation, but also to aid and assist most vitally in its support on the Continent; especially by the connexion of many learned Englishmen with Melancthon*. That great reformer, it is well known, made use of the extensive influence which his high reputation, and the favour of the reigning Elector of Saxony, gave him in the German schools, in which he was considered as a kind of common preceptor, to unite the study of philosophy with that of classic literature; in which he was much assisted, (as he himself acknowledges in his "Declamations," and as confirmed by the learned Mayer) by many learned protestants from Great Britain, who were appointed public preceptors in Germany.

The principle on which Melancthon acted—a principle also adopted by his English friends—was this: "I would have no one," says he, "trifle in philoso-

* Vide Enfield, ii. 417.

phizing, lest he should at length even lose sight of common sense: rather let him be careful, both in the study of physics and morals, to select the best things from the best sources."

Perceiving that the human understanding was clouded, and the freedom of inquiry restrained, by the forms of the schools, and that nothing contributed so much to perpetuate superstition and error in the church as false philosophy—those great and able men, the reformers, concluded that the disease admitted of no palliative; that in order to produce any great and lasting effect, it was not sufficient barely to lop off the heads of the tares which had sprung up in the church, but that it was become necessary to tear them up by the roots*.

They therefore, with a degree of magnanimity which entitles them to immortal honour, made a bold and open attack at once upon the corruptions of philosophy and theology; laying open the numerous evils which the existing mode of philosophy had introduced into religion; showing by what puerile arts, and with how much injury to truth, both natural and divine, it had maintained its authority; and exhorting young men to leave such faithless guides, and give themselves up wholly to the direction of reason and revelation.

• Such were the principles which prompted numbers in England to adopt the sentiments of Wickliffe, and

* Enfield, ii. 117

to join the modern reforming church upon the Continent; principles which made them readily fall in with Henry's plans, though we fear, indeed, that he was but little imbued with them: although most certainly, when it was proposed to Henry VIII. by the confederate princes of Germany, that he should "encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the Confession of Augsburg," he, with a true spirit of liberal independence, answered, that he certainly would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what would be his faith, or that of his kingdom. He therefore refused to bind himself to their creed; but at the same time desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote religious union between him and the confederates. He also approved of the plan to form a free general council for the purpose of defending the true doctrine; but he maintained that the regulations of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions.

It is well observed by Mosheim, however, that the downfall of papal authority in England was not, at first, productive of much benefit, either to the friends or to the cause of the Reformation. Henry himself

had already grown cold in the cause of the German confederates, when he perceived that they could no longer be of service to him in supporting the question as to his marriage; so that his subsequent disavowal of papal authority was rather an insulated case, than in unison with the general body of reformers. † 1530

In fact, Henry, though resolutely withdrawing himself from the dominion of Rome, yet still preserved, for some time at least, some of its errors, as well as some of its persecuting spirit; but the prudence, learning, and activity of Crammer, counteracted, in many instances, that vehemence, and also that inconstancy, which might have been fatal to the good cause.

To enter, however, into all the causes which led to the Reformation in England, would be beyond our plan; but we cannot pass over a very important letter addressed by Henry VIII. to the Bishop of Bath, then his ambassador at Rome; which, though referring to a special case, and that case occurring not in England, but in that part of French Flanders then under the British sway, yet contains in itself so many important points and considerations, as to be particularly applicable even to passing events.

The object of this letter is*, in the first place, to express the king's displeasure with the bishop for having suffered a bull to be executed against him out of the court of Rome in favour of the Archbishop of Tour-

* Brit. Mus. Ayscough's Cat. No. 3839, 2.

nay, which he most pointedly desires him to have speedily revoked and annulled. It appears that the pope had made the most exorbitant grants to the Archbishop of Tournay, not only oppressive of the people, but also infringing upon the royal revenue, "contrary to all law and justice," and to the "derogation of our right and prerogative royell," as the king expresses himself.

His majesty then shows, that to suffer such interference of a foreign potentate or priest would be most prejudicial to the realm for divers reasons: first, "because by the same the pope hath done, as much as in him is, to cause our rebell and disobeyasant subject to be admitted to the archbishoprick of Turnay without makynge of homage or fidelitie to us, contrary to justice; by meanes whereof if hee should be suffered to enter, and make his abode within our cittie in contempt of us, hee might and would not onlie raise and stir up seditions amongst our subjects, but alsoe the perdition thereof, like as the president of Paris, his father, and hee last summer enterprized to doe, which thereupon was detected, and openly knowne for a truth soon after the importation of the said bull."

The king complains, in the second place, that "our subjects, spirituall and temporall, within our said cittie, should be bounde by virtue of that bull, under the terrible censures, to ayde and favur the said bishop; soe by that meanes they should in manner be dis-

charged of their oath of fidelitie to us made, and consequentlie maintaine or rebell against us, to our dishonour and unsuretie."

He then goes on to say, that by a clause of "Invocation" the pope had done all that he could to "raise warres and hostilitie between us and such princes of whom the said Invocation should be demanded, and under colour thereof hath authorized them to gather an army to bringe in the Bshp, to the danger of our said cittie, and our expresse wronge."

The fourth royal objection is, that "by this strange and inordinate bull, whereof the like was never seene, he attempted to take from us the superioritie, royall predominance, jurisdiction, and authoritie," &c. &c.

But the fifth objection is the most extraordinary, as showing how far his holiness ventured to disoblige even his best friends in England to serve his foreign allies; for the king further complains, that "hee hath revoked the authoritie and administration of that see, by him granted, at our instance, to the most reverend father in God, the Cardinall Archbishop of Yorke"—WOLSEY himself!

In short, the pope and his conclave of cardinals seem to have been blinded, by successful usurpation, to the consequences which must naturally result from their overbearing conduct; a blindness particularly favourable to this happy country, by the establishment of liberty, mental, religious, and political. To go at

length into this subject is not part of our plan, but perhaps the best view of the advantages of the Reformation may be found in the summing up of honest Fuller, who, after observing that by the extinction of papal power in England, the text was fulfilled of—“Give unto God the things that are God’s; and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s;”—adds, “Lastly, every English layman was restored to his Christian birthright, namely, to his *judgment of practical discretion* (in perusing the Scriptures in his own language) formerly swallowed up in the ocean of the pope’s infallibility. Thus on the depluming of the pope, every bird had its own feather: in the partage whereof, what he had gotten by sacrilege was restored to God; what by usurpation, was given back to the king, church, and state; what by oppression, was remitted to particular Christians.”

Of the extent of the papal influence, we may judge by the recorded fact, that, at this very period, Sixtus IV. had granted *eleven thousand years of pardon* to any person who would say a certain prayer before “Our Lady of Pity,” at Sarum; and three hundred days of pardon to whoever would repeat “Ave Mary,” nine times consecutively!

No wonder then that the church should thunder out its anathemas against the revival of literature, and that one of the loudest and ablest preachers should exclaim from the pulpit, “A new language has been invented.

which is called Greek ; guard carefully against it ; it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many persons a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament ; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are converted to Judaism."

Such was the state of politics and religion in England at the death of Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset, whose character, as given by Lloyd, in his *State Worthies*, contains the following compendious passage : " Land service was his exercise, but the sea his delight ; the compass his study, the stars his care, trade his thoughts, our own and foreign havens his discourse, a seaman his familiar, and their sea-fights his triumph. His converse and speech was souldier-like, plain, short, smart, and material *. There was a time when he would say nothing, and a time when he would say something ; but never a time when he would say all. He was, in a word, a happy man, who, notwithstanding that the times could not endure his virtues, nor he their vices, died at once full of honour at court,

* Brit. Mus. Ayscough's Coll. No. 1523, contains some " maxims and sayings of Thomas Grey, Marquesse of Dorsette. —The greatest trust between man and man, is that of giving counsell.—Never was y' man merry y' had more than one ♡woman in his bed, one frend in his bosome, one faithe in his heart."

and applause in the country; with this monument from the king—that he was a honest man.”

This Thomas, the second Marquess of Dorset, specified several articles in his will, which may serve to illustrate the manners of that age: “I will that Robert Brock, schoolmaster to my sonne Henry, have £20 yearly. I will that every of my sonnes, Thomas, Edward, and John, have yearly £10 toward their fyndyng untill they come to 15 years; and after to have £20 yearly till they come to 21. I will that each of my daughters unmarried have yearly £20 till they be married. I will that my daughter Mary have £1000; and to each other of my daughters unmarried each £1000. I will that my wife have the rule and provyding of all my children.” He adds: “I will to my sister Ceciley Dudley, my mannor of Much Glen for her lyfe; and her mete and drinke for her man servant and maide with my lady my wife, or els £20 yearly.” Amongst other legacies he left £20 to Anne Boleyn; and to Henry VIII. one of his best geldings, with £100 in soveraignes to buy a saddle; also money for three priests to sing and pray for his soul, for three years after his death; at the end of which period, purgatory, in England, was certainly very near extinguished!

Henry Grey, third Marquess of Dorset, succeeded to that title in 1530; and we may briefly recapitulate,

that he was constable of England in 1547; justice of the king's forests in 1550; warden of the Marches in 1551; created Duke of Suffolk in 1551, also knight of the Garter; and in 1554 met with that unhappy fate, which shall be hereafter recorded.

He married Frances, eldest daughter and co-heir of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; their only issue being Jane, Katharine, and Mary—but the male line of the family of Grey was continued by Henry's younger brother John, ancestor of the present noble family of Stamford and Warrington.

It was by this marriage that the claim to the crown came into the Dorset family; yet the Brandons, paternally, were not of ancient origin. The first on record is Sir William Brandon, Knight, in the reign of Edward IV. who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield; whose second son, Thomas, having joined Henry VII. against Richard, was made one of the squires of his body, receiving many other high offices, besides the honour of knight of the Garter. This Thomas married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Bruyn, and had an only son—

Charles, of whom Dugdale states, in his *Baronage*, that being a person comely of stature, high of courage, and conformity of disposition to Henry VIII., became so acceptable to that monarch, that he was made one of the esquires of his body, and chamberlain of the principality of Wales. Having been in a sharp fight

at sea with the French off Brest, he, the next ensuing year, upon the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay, applied to Cardinal Wolsey, and obtained leave to attend the king upon that notable adventure. Henry bestowed upon him the command of the van-guard of the army; and, to fit him more particularly for that high honour, created him Viscount l'Isle: and the very next year presented him with a patent as Duke of Suffolk.

Dugdale proceeds to state, that shortly after, 6th Henry VIII., being at St. Denys in France, at the coronation of the Lady Mary, sister to King Henry, then married to Louis XII. he achieved much honour by his prowess, manifested in a princely tournament, where he overthrew the person with whom he tilted, horse and arms; and gained so much upon the affections of that queen, as that, upon the death of Louis happening soon after, she engaged herself to marry him, entreating Francis I., his successor, to mediate for that purpose with her brother Henry for his approbation. Leave for the marriage was soon obtained, and with her Brandon received, as a portion, a grant of all the lands which had belonged to De la Pole, the late Duke of Suffolk.

This lady had been originally designed for a Spanish prince; for there are letters extant of the king her father* directed to the lord mayor and aldermen of

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 293, p. 93.

London, “to make bonfyres, and to shewe other sygnes of rejoyssinge within the citty, for a conclysyon of a marriage between the Prince of Casteel” and her.

It has been said that Brandon, on his first application to the royal widow, was told by her, that if he did not win her within a month, he should never win her at all. In that achievement, however, he must have met with little difficulty; as it is evident that she certainly had some reference to it in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, written in the first days of her widowhood; and the original of which is now extant in the British Museum :

“My reverend good Lord,—I recommend me to you, and thanke you for letters, and good lessones that you hathe gyffen to me. My lord, I pray you, as my trust is yn you, to remember me to the kyng my brother, for souche causses and bessynes as I have for to do: for as now I have no other to put my trust yn but the kyng my brother and you. And as yt shall ples the kyng my brother and hys counsell I wol be horderd; and so I pray you, my lord, to shew hys grace, sayng that the kyng my howsbandd ys departed to God, of whose sole God pardon. And wheras you advyse me that I shulde make no promis, my lorde, I trust the kyng my brother and you wold not depend on me solely, pleyz God. I trust I have so hordered my selfe so sens that I came hether, that I truste yt hath ben to

the honour of the kyng my brother and me sens I came hether, and so I trust to continue. Yff there be any thyng that I may do for you, I wold be gladd for to do yt yn thes partes, and shall be glad to do yt for you. No more to you at thys tyme, but God preserve you. Wrytten at Pares the x day of January, 1515,

By your louynge frend,

MARY, Queen of France."

Brandon's marriage with the French dowager was, it must be acknowledged, represented by some to be illegal; his former wife, the Lady Margaret Mortimer, not even repudiated as some assert, being still alive. It must not be forgotten, however, that the point of legality had been declared to be fully settled both by the laws of the realm, and by the canon laws; at least so it was broadly asserted in parliament in the 13th year of Elizabeth's reign in a debate on the succession*, in reference to a charge of bastardy brought against Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor Brandon, by their illegitimate sister, Lady Powis.

Suffolk, after his marriage, seems to have become a complete courtier; friendly with Wolsey in his power, yet, as Shakespeare describes him, secretly despising that priestly upstart:

* Brit. Mus. Cott. Coll. Julius, F. 6.

Suff. Which of the peers
Have unconcern'd gone by him, or at least
Strangely neglected? when did he regard
The stamp of nobleness in any person,
Out of himself?

He is also described as the agent of Henry's ingratitude to him :

Suff. Lord Cardinal, the king's further pleasure is,
Because all those things, you have done of late
By your power legantine within this kingdom,
Fall into the compass of *præmunire*,—
That therefore such a writ be sued against you ;
To forfeit all your goods, lands, tenements,
Chattels, and whatsoever, and to be
Out of the king's protection :—This is my charge.

Brandon is stated by the same dramatist to have been favourable to the young queen, whom he thus delineates :

Suff. There's order given for her coronation :
Marry, this is yet but young, and may be left
To some ears unrecounted.—But, my lords,
She is a gallant creature, and complete
In mind and feature : I persuade me, from her
Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
In it be memorized.

He officiated indeed as high steward at her coronation, though in an earlier scene he jests with the royal scruples, when a chamberlain announces them to him and the Duke of Norfolk :

Cham. Good day to both your graces.

Suff. How is the king employ'd?

Cham. I left him private,
Full of sad thoughts and troubles.

Nor.

What's the cause?

Cham. It seems, the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Suff.

No, his conscience

Has crept too near another lady.

Nor.

'Tis so ;

This is the cardinal's doing, the king-cardinal :

That blind priest, like the eldest son of fortune,

Turns what he list. The king will know him one day.

Suff. Pray God, he do ! he'll never know himself else.

Henry, the third Marquess of Dorset, and father of our heroine, seems not to have been a very dutiful or affectionate son to his widowed mother ; for in the British Museum * is a letter from that lady to a nobleman, complaining heavily of her son's undutifulness in withholding her property from her, contrary to her husband's will.

In this address the good lady is very strenuous ; for she begins, “ In the hous of our Lady's Passyon, my lorde, I beseeche you to be my goode lorde, consyderyng me a poor wydo, so unkyndly and extreyndly escheated by my son.” The remainder of this epistle is scarcely legible ; but it is to be hoped that the marquess, who was a most severe parent himself, exacting the most slavish obedience and compliance from his own children, did not continue to pursue that undutiful conduct of which his sole remaining parent complained.

The marquess, by his connexion with the royal family

* Cott. Coll. Vesp. F. xiii. 102.

in consequence of his marriage, was now obliged to mingle more in the religious politics of the court, than his own wishes would have led him to do; for he is described by all writers as being fond of a domestic and a country life, and totally devoid of all ambition; nay, as some assert, even of personal courage.

In politics, however, he was obliged to take a part, especially in the important occurrences of the year 1531, when the whole body of the Roman Catholic clergy in England incurred a prebend, by their too great attention to a promotion of the papal interests. By this legal procedure all the estates of the church became forfeited; but the king was then content to accept large sums in lieu, the province of Canterbury being taxed, or rather fined, to the amount of £100,000! Shakspeare also makes him carry the sceptre at Anne Boleyn's coronation.

Dorset was very active at this period too when Henry first demanded to be acknowledged as supreme head of the church: and in the ensuing year Cranmer was recalled home from Germany, where he was suffering a species of banishment; but a recall to which he was at first unwilling to submit, postponing his return as long as possible, in hopes of some other person being appointed to the vacant archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; his objections, however, were unavailing. The Reformation may now be considered as fairly begun; and of its commencement old Fuller quaintly

observes, speaking of the marriage of Henry VIII. with his brother's wife Katharine, that the marriage itself was founded in covetous considerations, merely to save money, that the kingdom might not be impoverished by restoring her dowry back again into Spain, though hereupon a greater mass of coin was transported out of the land, though not into Spain, unto Italy: alluding to the bribes sent to Pope Julius II., who, as he states, by the omnipotency of his dispensation, removed all impediments and obstructions against the laws of God or man hindering or opposing the said marriage. He adds, that thus such who consult with covetousness in matters of conscience, embracing sinister courses to save charges, will find such thrift expensive at the casting up of their audit; however, divine Providence, overruling all actions to his own glory, so ordered it, that the breaking of the pope's power, with the vanishing of superstition out of England, is at this day the only surviving issue of this marriage.

It is also a very curious fact, as stated by the same author, that Henry's subsequent idea of the divorce was first excited by the Spanish ambassadors themselves; who, when Mary was first offered in marriage to Philip, then Prince of Spain, seemed to make some difficulty, actually expressing doubts as to her legitimacy, in consequence of her mother's prior marriage to Prince Arthur. Then again even Wolsey

himself aided in the events which led to the Reformation; for it was he that first insinuated this scruple to Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, who made it a matter of conscience with the monarch, advising him to separate himself from her majesty, as a thing unlawful: even adding, that after divorce, which the pope, in justice, could not deny, then the king might dispose of his affections as he pleased. Here indeed the two priests overshot their own mark; for they designed to replace Katharine by Margaret of Alencon, sister to Francis the First of France, little suspecting that Anne Boleyn had even then attracted the royal notice.

Henry certainly had, anterior to this, been friendly to a treaty with France; in reference to which, but before the meeting at Ardres, Shakspeare states the visit of the Emperor Charles V. to this country to have taken place, when he makes the Duke of Buckingham say,

Buck. Pray, give me favour, sir. 'This cunning cardinal
The articles o'the combination drew,
As himself pleased; and they were ratified,
As he cried, Thus let be: to as much end,
As give a crutch to the dead: But our count-cardinal
Has done this, and 'tis well; for worthy Wolsey,
Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows
(Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy
To the old dam, treason),—Charles the emperor,
Under pretence to see the queen his aunt
" (For 'twas, indeed, his colour; but he came
To whisper Wolsey), here makes visitation:
His fears were, that the interview, betwixt

England and France, might, through their amity,
Breed him some prejudice ; for from this league
Peeped harms that menaced him : he privily
Deals with our cardinal ; and, as I trow,
Which I do well ; for, I am sure, the emperor
Paid ere he promised ; whereby his suit was granted,
Ere it was ask'd ;—but when the way was made,
And paved with gold, the emperor thus desired ;
That he would please to alter the king's course,
And break the foresaid peace. Let the king know
(As soon he shall by me), that thus the cardinal
Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
And for his own advantage.

It is a curious fact that when Henry sent Stephen Gardynier and Edward Fox to Rome*, or rather to the Pope, for at that period he resided at Orvieto, in order to negotiate the affair of the divorce, that pontiff was actually driven from Rome by the Spanish troops ; and though they had retired so as not to prevent his return to the capital, yet the people of Viterbo, having joined with the Spaniards, did actually prevent it. So that the pope, though personally at liberty, was yet forced to reside in an old and ruinous city, suffering under dearth and pestilent air, and in a ruinous palace, as they described it ; the furniture of his bed-chamber, bed and all, not being worth twenty nobles.

Henry about that period had written a book against the legality of his own marriage, and which he had dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey. The English bishops, it appears, had read this work, but the pope was not

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. L. 419. 28.

so easily induced to undertake the task ; but finally “ he seemed resolved to read it over.”

Fox soon after returned ; but there is a letter extant from him to Gardynere, relating to his interview with the king ; and it is not a little curious that this interview was “ in Mrs. Anne Boleyn’s chamber ;” the letter showing also, “ how much he and she were rejoiced at the good success” in procuring the commission and dispensation from the pope.

The divorce accordingly took place in 1533, under circumstances in which the marquess readily coincided ; and his majesty became, as Fuller quaintly observes, not a bachelor, because once married ; not a married man, because having no wife ; not a widower, because his wife was not dead : in short, a kind of matrimonial nondescript, from which state he emerged as speedily as possible, by marrying Anne Boleyn ; for which he was excommunicated by the pope, and the realm interdicted. Henry, however, was proof against the thunderbolts of Rome, in which he was strongly supported by the Marquess of Dorset and the Duke of Suffolk : the monarch now re-assuming the ancient power of his predecessors, the British kings who had reigned independent of the papal see.

This was, indeed, a severe stroke on the papal interests ; for the pope’s income from this country was then immense, arising from the sale of consecrated trinkets called “ *Agnus Dei*,” of other trinkets, medals,

and beads; and from the annates, or first-fruits of all benefices for one year from each new incumbent. Then there were sums arising from appeals; from Peter-pence; from dispensations; from indulgences; from Legantine levies, which were *ad libitum*; from pilgrimages, perhaps twenty thousand repentant and paying sinners going from England to Rome on each jubilee, which happened once in twenty-five years; from tenths; from legacies, &c. &c. The Peter-pence alone, at "one penny for every chimney that smoked," that is, more properly, where fires were kindled, then amounted to £7500 per annum. This sum was more than doubled during its short revival in 1655; but it would now form a much larger sum for papal cupidity. Henry himself, however, now felt a taste for these advantages; but his delicacy in robbing the church was at first most remarkable, as one instance will suffice to show. There is a letter extant * from Dr. John Smith, canon residentiary of St. Paul's, addressed to Sir Edward Baynton, vice-chamberlain to Queen Anne Boleyn, as it would appear, in which that reverend gentleman alludes to his majesty having desired to see a very rich cross, kept amongst other jewels, in that cathedral. The doctor then states that he had persuaded his brethren not only to show, but to make a free offering of it to his majesty; and concludes with a specimen of his own talent at bribery, as he offers to

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. I. 295. 62.

Baynton two years farm rent of his prebend of Alkaninge, provided the vice-chamberlain will procure for him "the same authority as Dr. Sampson hath." What that authority was, does not appear; but two years prebendal rent must have been worth something.

• It is proper here to observe, that Mary, daughter of Katharine of Arragon, the repudiated queen, was now growing up to womanhood, rigid in her mother's religion, and jealous of her own claim to the royal succession; so that although Lady Jane was not yet born, we may notice a circumstance which naturally tended to excite Mary's enmity to every person then, or afterwards, connected with the reformed religion; a circumstance which may have touched her womanly pride, perhaps, as nearly as her conscience was affected by religious coercion. The fact to which we allude is exemplified by a letter from John Huse, in the British Museum*; there called a "message to the lady for the diminishing of her estate and dignity of a princess." It is to the following effect:

"Please it yur good lordeshipe to be advertised, that, accordinge to the king's high comandement lately shewed unto me by yur lordeshipe at Greenwich, (upon Sondag last) I have signified unto the princesse his most gracious pleas^r concerninge the diminishinge of her high estate of the name and dignitie of princesse (wherein hir grace coulde not a little ———) that I

* Harl. Coll. No. 416, p. 127

beinge alone, and not associate with ſm othre the kings most honorable counsaill, ne yet sufficiently auctorized nether by comission, ne also any other writinge from the kings highnes, wolde attempte to declare such an high interprize and matur of no litle weight and importance unto hir grace in depoyzing and dimisshing her said astate and name, hir grace not doubtinge but that she is the kings true and legitimate doughter and heyr procreate in good and lawfully matrimony. And further adding (said) that unlesse she were advertised from his highnes by his writing, that his grace was so minded to diminisshe hir said astate, name, and dignitie, which she trustethe his highnes will never do, her grace will not believe it. And farther I have declared yo^r said comandement unto all the princesse s^vints concernyng the premisses, who have made an answere, that they in moost humble wyse shall always obey the king's high comaundements in all things whiche his highnes shall comaunde them to do, savyng ther consience; notwithstandinge they think that this comaundement being so high and weighty, given only be me, without writing from the kings highnes, or oth^r his counsaill associate with me, is in ther judgemente not suffyc^ent; wherefore, my lorde, I writte this mater unto your lordeshipe to be ferderly weide as shall stande with yo^r high and moost discrete wisdomis; which I pray God may be to his high pleas^r and to the honor of the Kings grace and the welth of his realme. And

thus the hooly goost have yo^r good lordeshipe in his moost uderfull tuition. At Beaulieu, this xx^{te} daye of September. By me the king's subject,

“JOHN HUSE.”

To this is added a note—“This message, I suppose, was sent soon after y^e birth of the Lady Elizabeth, w^{ch} was Sept. 6, 1533, or when y^e king, upon the sentense of devorse, comanded y^e Q. Katharine should be no more called queen, but princess dowager, w^{ch} was in May, 1533. But by the date of this letter the former is more probable.”

In reference to this we may also add, that in May, 1533, the Duke of Suffolk, in concert with the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Paulet and Mr. Richard Sampson, was appointed to regulate the household of the repudiated queen; soon after which, these commissioners made the following extraordinary report to his majesty:

“Pleasythe it yur highnes, upon Wensdaye laste paste, after dynner, we, accordeinge to youre comaundement, shewed and declared yur most gracious pleasure to the princes dowager in hir great chambre, all manere of servants of the house then their being to heare what should be sayd; wherunto the said princes psystynge in hir great stomacke and obstynacye made answer with an opene voyse, sayinge that she knewe hir-

selfe for yur queene and true wyfe, nevere carnallye knowne by Prince Arthure; and that she wold ever stand null and prosecute in the courte of Rome, where the matter is dependynge, to be hewne in peeces, utterly refusynge not only the name of princes dowagere, and hir removynge to Somersham because of hir healthe, but also refusynge utterlye to remove to any other place by the name of princes dowager, and to take the service of any p̄sone sworne to serve hir as princes dowagere, for all perswasiones that could be made to hir by us, and after by the Lord Montjoye, Mr. Dymoke, hir almond and receaver, in hir chambere, who used all meanes they could to p̄swade hir, upon hir sendinge for them to speake with hir, that she should content hir, to remove and to take your most gracyouse order for her servants and household, to howsoever she did ordere herselfe in his cause: to whom, for answeare, she sayd, that she tooke this change of hir name, and this oathe of hir servantes, to be to the greate hurte of hir cause, and thearefore she would not in anywise conforme herselfe to that ordere, ne otherwise obbaye them, but compelled. [¶]Wherupon the servantes appointed by yur highnes to serve hir, when they came befoare us to receave knoledge of your most gratyous pleashure, and to that their newe oathe, they said they were loathe to serve her, p̄systynge in the mynde she was off. Neverthelesse, to obaye y^r comaundement, they wold serve hir, so they might not

he sworne; for they sayd, considerynge their fyrste oathe made to hir as queene, they mighte not take the secunde oathe without þiurye, and so they contynued a tyme styfly in their oppynyones, unto the tyme we had with muche diffycultye gotten off them that they had that knoledge of Abell and Berker, hir chaplanes, whome we callid and examyned, and founde them styflye standinge in their consyence that shee was y^r queene and lawful wyfe, and that no man sworne to serve her as queene myghte change that oathe without þiury, and so they knowledged that they had shewed to as many as asked there counsell, and what was their consyence; and in that oppynyon they þsithe stylye, saying theyr learnyng so informethe ther consyence; wherupon we have comytted them to the porteres ward, ther to remayne, not spekyng with any other þsone then theyr keeper tyll yor graces furthir pleasur bee therin knowne. And after this was disclossed, upon good exortacons, with some diffyculty many of the servants appoynted, upon truste of y^r most gratyous favore, have receaved their romes and other accordingly; and so we truste, by Gods helpe, to procede to the stablishment of the servants and order of the household, albeit some þsones named in y^r graces book we change upon good consyderatyon; and the bushope of Langdraf, whom y^r grace appoynted to departe, wee suffer to tarrye tyll y^r further pleasur be knowne, for that she hathe no confessore left, yf he and Abell

deſte, that can ſpeke Spaniſhe, in the wich ſpeech ſhe is know confessede, and cannot be in any othere as ſhe ſaythe; and as we p̄ceave by reporte the ſ'd buſhoppe is the man of moſte ſimpliſſitie, and ſhal do leaſte harme to tarrye and be hir ghosly father. And for asmuche as ſhe wilfully and agaynſte al humanetye and reſon contynuethe ſtylle in this oppynyon, ſaying, that althoughe yo^r grace have appoynted hir to remove to Somersham, ſhe may ne will in any wiſe followe yo^r graces pleaſhur therin, unleſſe wee ſhal bynd hir with ropes, and violently inforce hir therunto, ſayinge alſo that ſhe will not take the ſerviſe of theſe mene ſworne to her as princes dowager, but as the ſerviſe of mene that hathe the keepinge of her. And for asmuche as ſhe p̄ſyſtythe in this obſtynasy, and ſo will contynue, as wee ſhurly thinke, and for that alſo by hir wilfulneſſe ſhe may alſo fayne hirſelfe ſyke and keepe her bedde in helthe, and will not putte one hir clothes or otherwiſe order hirſelf by ſome imagynacion that wee nowe cannot calle to remembraunce, w^{ch} extremetyes were not remembred at the makynge of our inſtructyones, by reaſon wherof yo^r pleaſhure is not ſette foarthe, in our ſ'd inſtructyones, what order ſhalbe taken with hir beinge in any ſuche extremetyes, we moſte humblye beſeeche yo^r highneſſe, the premyſſyes conſydered, to ſend unto us yo^r expreſſe pleaſhure herin, and in w^{hat} maner yo^r grace will have the ſame ordered and put in executyon, and as we may receave the ſame yo^r

pleashur uppon sendyng nexte, because the feaste approachethe so faste. And this the holy trynety preserve yo^r grace. From Bugden, this frydaye, vi of the clocke after noone, beinge the xix daye of this presente monethe of December. And because we doubte the bushoppe and the reste of hir chappel shall refuse to make any othe, we have spared to speke with them tyll yo^r graces further pleashure be therein knowne what order shalbe takene with them in case they shall so doe.

Yo^r moste humble subiectes and servants,

CHARLES SUFFOLK, WILLIAM PAULET,
ROBERT SUSSEX, RICHARD SAMPSON.

“To the kyngs highnes.”

This conduct on the part of the divorced queen is but little in consonance with that humility and submission which the bard of Avon thus exquisitely delineates previous to the trial :

Q. Kath. Sir, I desire you, do me right and justice ;
And to bestow your pity on me : for
I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,
Born out of your dominions ; having here
No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance
Of equal friendship and proceeding. Alas, sir,
In what have I offended you ? what cause
Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure,
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good grace from me ? Heaven witness,
I have been to you a true and humble wife,
At all times to your will conformable ;
Ever in fear to kindle your dislike,

Yea, subject to your countenance ; glad, or sorry,
 As I saw it inclined. When was the hour,
 I ever contradicted your desire,
 Or made it not mine too? Or which of your friends
 Have I not strove to love, although I knew
 He were mine enemy? what friend of mine,
 That had to him derived your anger, did I
 Continue in my liking ; nay, gave notice
 He was from thence discharged? Sir, call to mind
 That I have been your wife, in this obedience,
 Upward of twenty years, and have been bless'd
 With many children by you : if, in the course
 And process of this time, you can report
 And prove it too, against mine honour aught,
 My bond to wedlock, or my love and duty,
 Against your sacred person, in God's name,
 Turn me away ; and let the foulest contempt
 Shut door upon me, and so give me up
 To the sharpest kind of justice. Please you, sir,
 The king, your father, was reputed for
 A prince most prudent, of an excellent
 And unmatch'd wit and judgment : Ferdinand,
 My father, king of Spain, was reckon'd one
 The wisest prince, that there had reign'd by many
 A year before : it is not to be question'd
 That they had gather'd a wise council to them
 Of every realm, that did debate this business,
 Who deem'd our marriage lawful : wherefore I humbly
 Beseech you, sir, to spare me, till I may
 Be by my friends in Spain advised ; whose counsel
 I will implore : if not, i' the name of God,
 Your pleasure be fulfill'd !

It is a fact, not generally understood, that Mary, at
 an early period of her life, had a reformer for her pre-
 ceptor*. This was Ludovicus Vives, a native of Va-

lencia in Spain; who, though well trained in all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy at Paris, had the good sense to discover its futility, and diligently applied ~~himself~~ to more useful studies. Erasmus, who was his most intimate associate, says of him, in one of his epistles*, that there was no part of philosophy in which he did not excel; and that he had made such proficiency in learning, and in the arts of speaking and writing, that he scarcely knew his equal. Amongst other of his publications, was a very ingenious commentary upon St. Augustine's treatise "De Civitate Dei," or the City of God, which he dedicated to Henry VIII., and with which that monarch was so well pleased, from the extensive acquaintance with the ancient philosophy which it manifested, that he not only invited the author to his court, but also appointed him preceptor to his daughter, and then only child. In this office Vives displayed great fidelity; but being a Spaniard, he naturally felt great interest for his countrywoman, the queen, and lost the king's confidence by his opposition to the divorce; on which he was forced to flee to Bruges.

To appreciate more fully the subsequent conduct of Mary, in reference to the unhappy fate of our heroine, it is necessary to investigate her own early mortifications in regard to religion, rank, comfort, probable marriage, and, in short, in regard to every thing which

* Er. Epist. xix. 101.

can be dear to a woman, and to an affectionate daughter. A just estimate of all this may be drawn from a very interesting correspondence, which we have copied from the originals in the British Museum, and which becomes a necessary illustration of future events.

Mary, it appears, had not only been unwilling to acquiesce in her mother's disgrace, but to accept the amended ritual of Henry, in which she was supported by her priestly household, who, no doubt, were the advisers of what is called her submission; but which, we shall have future occasion to show, was founded on rank duplicity and mental reservation!

This submission is to the following purport:

“TO THE KING'S MOST GRACIOUS HIGHNES MY
FATHER*.

“Most humbly prostrate before the feete of yur most excellent majestie, yur most humble, faithfull, and obedient subject, who hath soe extremely offended yur most gracious highnes, that myne heavy and fearfull heart dare not presume to call you father, ne yur majestie have any cause by my desertes, saving the benignitie of your blessed nature doth surmounte all evils, offences, and trespasses, and is ever mercifull and ready to arrest the penitent calling for grace in anie convenient time. Havyng receyved, this thurs-

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Tit. c. vii. 176.

day, at nyght, certayne letters from Mr. Secretarye, as well advising me to make myne humble submission to yourselfe, which, because I durst not, without your gracious license, presume to doe before, I lately sent unto him, as signifying that yur most mercifull heart and fatherly pittie had granted me yur blessing with condition that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not eftsones offend yur majestie by the denyall or refusall of any such articles or comandments as it may please yur highnes to address unto mee for the perfit tryall of my harte and inwarde affection. For the present declaration of the bottom of my harte and stomacke; first, I knowledge myselfe to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended yur most excellent highnes, in that I have not submitted myselfe to yur most just and vertuous laws. And for myne offences therein, which I must confesse weare in me a thousand folde more grievous than they could be in any other living creature, I put my selfe wholly and entirely to your gracious mercey, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved. Secondly, to open myne harte to yur grace in those things which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with myne owne hand, sending the same to yur highnes herewith. I shall never beseache yur grace to have pittie and compassion of me yff ever you shall perceyue that I shall privilie or

apertly vary or alter from one peece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratyfie, or declare the same where your majestie shall appoynte me. Thirdly, as I have and shall, knowing yur excellent learning, vertue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soule into your direction, and by the same hath and wyll in all things from hensforth direct my conscience, soe my bodie I doe wholly comitt to your mercie and fatherly pittie, desiring not state, nor condition, nor maner, degree of livinge, but such as your grace shall apoynte unto me, knowledging and confessing that my state cannot be soe vile as eyther the extremitie of justice would apoynte unto me, or as myne offences have required and deserved. And whatsoever yur grace shall comand me to do touching any of these poyntes, either for things passed, present, or to come, I shall gladly doe the same as your majestie can comande me.

“ Most humbly therefore besecchyng your mercie, most gracious sovereign lord and benigne father, to have pittie and compassion of your miserable and sorrowfull child, and with the aboundance of your inestimable goodness soe to overcome myne iniquitie towards God, your grace, and yur wholle realme, as I may feale some sensible token of reconsiliation, which, God is my judge, I only desire without other respects. To whom I shall dayly pray for the preservation of yur highnes with the quene's grace, and that yt may

please him to send you issue. From Hownsden this Thursday at xj of the clocke at night.

Your graces most humble and obedient
daughter and handmayde,
MARYE."

This penitent epistle was accompanied by "The confession of me, the Lady Marye, made upon certayne poyntes and articles underwritten, in the which as I doe nowe plainely and with all myne harte confesse and declare myne inward sentence, beliefe, and judgment, with a due conformitie of obedience to the lawes of the realme; soe minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination without change, alteration, or variance, I doe most humblie beseeche the kinge's highnes my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offendid in the deniall of the same heretofore, to forgive myne offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercede.

"First, I confesse and knowledge the kinges majestie to be my soverayne lord and kinge in the imperiall crowne of this realme of England; and doe submitt myselfe to his highnes, and to all and singuler lawes and statutes of this realm, as becometh a true and faithfull subject to doe, which I shall also obey, keepe, observe, advance, and mayntayne, accordinge to my bounden duety, with all the power, force, and qualtyes that God hath indued me during my lyfe.

“Item, I do recognyse, accept, take, repute, and knowledge the king’s highnes to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England; and doo utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome’s pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realme heretofore usurped, according to the lawes and statutes made in that behalfe, and of all the king’s true subjects humbly receyved, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and alsoe doe utterly renounce and forsake all maner of remedye, interest, and advantage which I may by any means clayme by the Bishop of Rome’s lawes, processe, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in anywise hereafter, by anye maner, title, colour, means, or care that is, shall, or can be devysed for that purpose.

“MARYE.”

“Item, I doe freely, frankely, and for the discharge of my dutie towards God, the king’s highness, and his lawes, without other respect, recognyse and knowledge that the mariage heretofore had between his majestie and my mother, the late princesse dowager, was by God’s lawes and man’s law, incestuous and unlawful.

“MARYE.”

Henry seems to have been satisfied, for the present, with this declaration; for, indeed, he was at this time pretty deeply engaged in a new matrimonial arrange-

ment—that of taking off his second wife's head*! What part the Marquess of Dorset took in this affair, history does not inform us; but it is well ascertained that Brandon, then Duke of Suffolk, and grandfather to Lady Jane, was active in the cause; a circumstance not likely to be forgotten by Elizabeth in after days, then the infant daughter of the unhappy queen. In fact the Duke of Suffolk was one of the privy council, who attended with Audley, the lord chancellor, and others, as Fuller relates in his Church History, at the court held at Lambeth by Cranmer, when that prelate cited the king and queen, Anne Bolleyn, to appear before him, as they did by their proxies. Anne, indeed, was then a prisoner in the Tower, this being on the day previous to her execution; and by this court she was divorced, the marriage being declared “invalid, frustrate, and of none effect.”

In 1535 Queen Katharine died†: but Mary seems

* Henry was also much occupied in the improvement of his finances. In the Lansdown MSS. there is “A Devise how that within the Realme of England there may be levied for the King, our Sovereigne Lord, in two yeres, the somme of VIII^e. M. lii. (£800,000) with grete ese to his subjectis.”

† A good picture of the manners of the times may be found in the will of Queen Katharine, as preserved in the British Museum*;

“In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holic ghost, amen. I, Katharine, doe supplicate and desire Kinge Henry y^e VIIIth my good lord, that it please hym of his grace,

not to have been less sturdy at times in opposition to her father's mandates, or less hypocritical at others, than during her lifetime. A specimen of the latter

and in aulmes, and for the service of God, to let mee have the goodes which I doe hould, as well in gould and silver as other things; and also y^e same that is due to mee in money for the tyme passed. To the tent y^t I may pay my debts and recompense my servaunts for the good service they have done unto mee; and the same I desyre as affectously as I may for the necessity wherin I am redie to die, and to yeald my soule unto God.

First, I supplicate that my bodie be buried in a convent of observaunt freres.

Item, That for my soule may be said 1 masses.

Item, That som p'sonage goe to our ladie of Walsingham in pilgrimage, and in going by the way doale xx nobles.

Item, I appoint to Mistres Darrell xx li. for her mariage.

Item, I ordayne that the collar of gould whych I broughte out of Spayne, be to my doughter.

Item, I ordayne to Mistres Blanche x li. sterl.

Item, I ordayne to Mistris Margerie, and to Mistris —, to each of them x li. sterl.

Item, I ordayne to Mr Mary, my physitian's wife, and to Mistris Isabell, doughter of Mistris Margerie, to each of them xl pounds sterl.

Item, I ordayne to my physitian y^e yeares commynge wages.

Item, I ordayne to Francisco Philipppo all y^t I owe unto him, and besydes that xl pounds sterl.

Item, I ordayne to Mr. John, myne apothecary, his wages for y^e year commynge, and besydes y^t all y^t is due unto him.

Item, I ordayne that Mr. Whiller be payd of expence about y^e makynge of my gowne, and besides y^e xx liv. sterl.

Item, I geve to Philippe, to Anthony, to Bastian, to everie of them xx liv. sterl.

Item, I ordayne to the little maydens x liv. to everie of them.

Item, I ordayne y^e my Gouldsmith be paid of his wages for the year commynge, and besydes all that is due to him hitherto.

occurs in 1536, in a letter now in the Museum, but partly burnt, and almost illegible :

“ In as humble and lowly maner as is possyble, I beseeche your moste gracyous hyghnes of you

Item, I ordayne that my launderer be paid of y^t is due unto her, and besydes y^t of her wages for y^e year comynge.

Item, I ordayne to y^e Sabell of Vergas xx liv. sterl.

Item, To my ghostly father his wages for the year comynge.

Item, It may please y^e kinge my good lorde, that the house ornaments for y^e church to be made of my gowns which he houldeth for to serve the convent there at y shall be buried.

And the fures of the same I geve for my doughter.”

It is remarkable, that in this will the queen does not even commend her daughter to the king ; perhaps, in regard to her, she really acted as Shakspeare describes :

Cap.

Noble lady,

First, mine own service to your grace ; the next,
The king's request that I would visit you ;
Who grieves much for your weakness, and by me
Sends you his princely commendations,
And heartily entreats you take good comfort.

Kath. O my good lord, that comfort comes too late ;
'Tis like a pardon after execution :
That gentle physic, given in time, had cured me ;
But now I am past all comforts here, but prayers.
How does his highness ?

Cap.

Madam, in good health.

Kath. So may he ever do ! and ever flourish,
When I shall dwell with worms, and my poor name
Banish'd the kingdom !—Patience, is that letter,
I caused you write, yet sent away ?

Pat.

No, madam.

Kath. Sir, I most humbly pray you to deliver
This to my lord, the king.

blessyng. And albeit I have alreedy as y truste
 upon myn humble and harty servis and submys
 quyryng mercy and forgyvenes for myne offenc
 maiestye obtayned the same wyth lycence to w
 wherby I have also conceyved great hope and at
 your grace of your inestymable goodnes rgyve

Cap.

Most willing, madam.

Kath. In which I have commended to his goodness
 The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter :—
 The dews of heaven fall thiek in blessings on her !—
 Beseeching him, to give her virtuous breeding ;
 (She is young, and of a noble modest nature ;
 I hope, she will deserve well ;) and a little
 To love her for her mother's sake, that loved him,
 Heaven knows how dearly. My next poor petition
 Is, that his noble grace would have some pity
 Upon my wretched women, that so long
 Have follow'd both my fortunes faithfully :
 Of which there is not one, I dare avow
 (And now I should not lie), but will deserve,
 For virtue, and true beauty of the soul,
 For honesty, and decent carriage,
 A right good husband, let him be a noble ;
 And, sure, those men are happy that shall have them.
 The last is, for my men :—they are the poorest,
 But poverty could never draw them from me ;—
 That they may have their wages duly paid them,
 And something over to remember me by ;
 If heaven had pleased to have given me longer life,
 And able means, we had not parted thus.
 These are the whole contents :—And, good my lord,
 By that you love the dearest in this world,
 As you wish Christian peace to souls departed,
 Stand these poor people's friend, and urge the king
 To do me this last right.

me my sayd offenceys and wythdre leasur conceyved upon the same, yet sh returne parfactly to me, ne my hope the time as it may," &c. &c.*

It is a very remarkable fact, however, and a proof of the mental reservation with which Mary had been led to act in these transactions, that this very letter was accompanied by one to Secretary Cromwell, praying that she might not be compelled in her conscience. That her conscience ought to have been left to perfect freedom cannot for a moment be denied; but then she ought not to have made a submission so extremely pointed as that already recorded.

This letter is preserved in the British Museum; and though half burnt, yet enough remains to illustrate what is here spoken of:

" Good Master Secretary,—I do thanke you much all the greate payne and service that you have had, for whyche I thynke myselfe veray muche bounde to as I do parceyve by your letters that you excepeyon in my letter to the kyng's grace dyde not mean as you do take it, for I the kyngs goodnes wyll move me shulde offend God and my conseyen dyde write that only by the re for I have always used both except God in all thyngs exhorted me to write to devyse what I

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Otho. c. v. 261.

should wr wythout addyng or mynyshe thys
 berer my servant the is unsealyd because I can
 cople for the payne in my me so sore theys
 two or thre that I have very small rest
 truste in your goodness that fynd suche meanes
 by your”

In the same collection are several other letters of a date nearly similar; those to the king all submissive, but those to Cromwell displaying a system of mental reservation, as if her conscience forced her almost to confess the chicanery she was then induced to practise by the advice of her ghostly confessors.

All this, however, had its effect, and she seems now to have been on better terms with her father than usual; but still the inward leaven would show itself.

It has been often said, and justly said, that the greatest tyrants are the mildest on earth when not in power. How far this was the case with Mary may be illustrated by the following letter from her about this period, but without address, preserved in the British Museum*.

“ My very good lorde,—Because my truste is your goodnes wyll not be wery, thoughe I do dayly moleste you wyth my contynuall sute, I shall most hartely desyre the same to have in remembrance myne erneste

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vesp. F. xiii. 202, 203.

sute made unto you for mystres Coke, my mothers olde servant touchyng the ferme of Rysbrydge belongyng to the Newe Colledge in Oxforde, the Warden wherof hathe neyther used you nor me (as I thinke) gently therin; and therefore as my shote anker nexte the kyng's majesty, I recoñende it holly unto you. And even so besече our lorde to sende you no worse to fare then I wolde my selfe. At the courte, the 15^t of Apryll.

Your lovyng assured frend during my lief,
MARYE."

About this same period we find another letter from the princess to Secretary Cromwell, not only illustrative of her own manner, but of the manners of the times, for it is an excuse to avoid the honours of knighthood, in regard to one of her own household, that honour appearing to be then absolutely enforced upon all of a certain rank and fortune; evidently on account of the fees, and of certain benevolences in peace and services in war, which knights were obliged to fulfil. The letter runs thus:

"Mary, Princesse. Maister Cromewell,—In my hasty maner, I comende me to you, and whereas I am advertised on the behalfe of my servant Richard Wilbram, this bearer, that all suche as maye dyspende

in landes fourty pounds by yere, have in comandment to appere before my most drad lorde and father the kyng, and to receyve of hys highnes the ordre of knyghthoode, amongst whom my sayd servant's father's oon, being, as I am informed, nowe foure score yeres of age, the contentis of whose landes my said servante, I doute not, will truly declare unto you; and forasmuch as I am advysed that all suche men shall first resorte unto you to knowe the kyng my fathers pleasyr further theryn, I therfor desyre and hartely pray you in consideraçon of the greate age of my said servants father, and also the farre distance of his dwellyng place, as in Cheshyre, to showe your loving favour unto hym, as well in excuse for his non apparance as also yn all other causes concerning the kyng my father's pleys^r to hym for the same. And y^r thus doing at thys my desyre, in shewing your forward favour and goodnes unto my servant's said father, shall deserve my ryght hartly thanks, whych shall not be put in oblivion, but remembred hereafter accordingly. From Oxford, the xxviii daye of Maye."

We now come to a very important document in regard to succeeding events; it is called,—

“The Examinaçõn of Sir Anthony Browne,
touching the La: Maries submission to
Kinge Henry the 8th her father*, 18th
June, 1536.

“Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, sworne and examined, saith, that he never knew ye Kinges highnes and the dowger, for their matrimony was doubted, thought ye same lawfull, forasmuch as shee was his brother’s wife before.

“Item, He saith that Mr. Carewe shewed him lately that he had received a lre from the La: Marie as he supposed, and your deponent declared that Mr. Secretary had written a letter unto her advising her to submitte herselfe to the kinge; and shewed him that she would soe doe as he understood. Wherupon the said Sir Anthony praied God to give her grace soe to doe. Wherunto the said Mr. Carew said—Iff shee doe not submitte herselfe shee is undone; for the kinge is a mercifull prince and will have pittie of her, if shee will now leave her obstinacie, and not cast herself away.

“Then he saith that Mr. Russel tould him that he heard say, that in case she would followe the king’s pleasure shee should be heire apparante, at which time being others present, whom he now remembereth

* Brit. Mus. Ayscough, 1786, 69.

not, one of them said, what meane you by the heire-apparant? whereunto it was answered that shee should be reputed in such case to his highness unless his grace should have issue by his queen that now is, sonne or daughter.

“ Item, He saith that when Mr. Crom^{ll} was last at home, he went to Guildford to him; of whom the said Mr. Carew asked what newes were at court? whereunto he answered, that he knew no newes saving only Mr. Russel tould him he heard say that La: Marie should be made heire apparent to the king, if she would submitt herselfe and follow his pleasure, which the said Mr. Carewe praied to God shee might doe.

“ Item, He saith that Mr. Carew sent a lettre to the Ladie Mary, which ltre hee shewed before to this deponent and Mr. Crom^{ll}, the effect thereof was to advise and counsell her in any wise to submitt herselfe to the king, and to followe such counsel as by Mr. Secretary's ltres should be declared unto her touching the same; nevertheless, whether he sent this ltre forth or noe, he knoweth not.

“ Item, He saith that since Mr. Cromw^{ll}'s coming to the court, he hath demanded of him whether the Ladie Marie should be heire apparent or noe, to whom hee hath answered, that in case shee would submit herselfe, and bee obedient as shee ought to bee, hee trusted shee would; and iff shee will not bee obedient

unto his grace, I would quoth hee that her head were from her shoulders that I might tosse it here with my foote, and soe putt his foote forward spurning the rushes.

“ Item, Examined why hee should have such affection to the said Ladie Marie, saith that hee was only moved thereunto for the love he beareth to the king; for hee never received letter, messege, token or commendement from her, nor hath sent her any.

“ Item, Examined whether in case it had pleased God to call the King to his mercie, which God defend, leaving the Ladie Elizabeth in the degree of princesse, hee would have adheared to her, or advaunced the Ladie Marie? Hee saith that in such case he would have died with the Ladie Elizabeth according to the lawes of the land.

“ Item, He saith, he thought the Ladie Mary to be a fitt person to be an heire apparent, and to succeed in case the King's highness should not chance to have issue of his body by the Queene that now is, which God send him shortly, for that ye said Ladie Mary was borne in *bona fide*; which tearm of *bona fide* as hee hath hearde often, as well before the making of this lawe for the King's succession, as since, soe remembreth not presently of whom he hath hearde the same; but will endeavour himselfe to remember where hee hath heard it, and the same declare accordingly.

“ Item, Examined whether he hath had any private

conference with any special men, or any other man or woman not specified, touchinge the state of the said Ladie Marie, he answeareth that he knew not, saying to some that he marvayled the would aske him such questions: but he saith that hee never had any private conferences with any man touchinge speecyell matter, other than is expressed.

“ Item, Hee being examined, whether hee hath at any time heard y^e name of *bona fides parentum* of Dr. Wolman, Dr. Bell, or Dr. Knight, saith nay.

“ Item, Being examined whether he knoweth of any conventicle devised, or sitte forth by any p̃son or p̃sons for the advancement of the said Ladie Mary*; answereth, none otherwise than is before declared.”

* At this period, Mary was denied the title of Princess, by royal proclamation: and in the British Museum, Cott. Coll. Otho, c. x. 254, there is a curious examination of Dame Anne Huse, about her visiting the Lady Mary, and stiling her *Princess*, after the declaration of the monarch's pleasure.



SECTION II.

- Succession to the Throne, how contemplated by Henry VIII.—Royal Marriages negotiated—Sorrows of Princess Mary—Birth of Lady Jane Grey—Progress of Reformation at the Birth of Lady Jane—Cranmer's Letter respecting the English Liturgy—Anecdotes of the English Bible—Family Anecdotes of the Greys—Description of their Family Mansion at Bradgate—Feudal Manners, and Sketches of Society—Progress of domestic Refinement—Birth of Edward VI.—Courtly and chivalrous Anecdotes—Dudley Family—Infancy of our Heroine—Early Promise—State of Literature, and of Female Education—Anecdotes of Erasmus, &c. ; of Bishop Aylmer ; of Ascham—Lady Jane educated in the reformed Religion, &c.—Queen Katherine Parr, &c. &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King's final regulation of the descent of the crown to Mary, next after the demise of Edward, it was certainly, at one period, in the 29th of his reign, A. D. 1537, his intention to have arranged matters otherwise, as appears from a letter written by him to Sir Thomas Wiatt*, wherein he details an offer, which the ambassadors of Charles V. had then seemed to agree to, that she should be married to the Prince of Portugal, Don Louis, with a fortune of 100,000 crowns ; but with a proviso, that she should

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 282, p. 1.

not succeed to the throne of England, except upon the death of all the King's other issue, then born, or to be born. To give her something of regal state, however, the Duchy of Milan was, in that case, to have been granted to Don Louis.

This plan did not succeed; yet was afterwards revived, when it was in agitation to unite the young Edward with one of Charles's daughters, whilst Elizabeth was to have been married either to a son of the King of the Romans, or to one of the Princes of Savoy.

Poor Mary, indeed, seems at this time to have been sent a begging; for she was offered to the Duke of Orleans, then to the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, then to the Duke of Urbino, &c.

Such was the probable state of the future succession to the crown of England at the period of our heroine's birth, which took place at Bradgate, in Leicestershire, as generally believed, in the year 1537, but the precise date is uncertain, the destruction of the monasteries and church registers having caused the loss of all records of that nature. It was however a most important period to the friends of rational religious liberty; as much had already been done on that subject, although neither Henry's principles nor practice were of a nature much connected with the purity of Christian faith.

Perhaps the exact progress and state of the reformation, at this precise period, will be best illustrated

by the following letter from Cranmer to Secretary Cromwell*:

“ After most hartie coñmendacyons unto your lordship, Theys shall be to sygnifie unto you that I with other bushopps and lerned men here assembled by the King’s coñmandment, have almost made an end of our determinacions; for we have alredie subscribed unto the declaracions of the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, the Crede, and the Ten Comandements; and there remayneth no more but certeyn notes of the Crede, unto the whyche we be aggreed to subscribe on Monday nexte; Whyche all, when they shall be subscribed, I pray you that I may know your mynde and pleasure, whether I shal send them incontynentlye unto you, or leaue them in my Lorde of Hereforde’s hands, to be delyvred by hym when he comyth nexte unto the courte. Besechyng you, my Lorde, therefore to be the intercessour unto the King’s highness for us all, that we may haue hys gracious lycence to depert for thys tyme untyl his grace’s further pleasur be known, for thay dye almost evry where in London, we find; and in Lambeth they dye at my gate, even at the next house to me. I would fayne see the King’s highnes at my departing; but I feare me that I shall not, by cause that I shall run from this smoking ayre;

* Brit. Mus. Cotton Cleop. E. v. 52.

yet I would gladly knowe the King's pleasur herin, less where you granted unto me leve to visit my dioces this yere, I beseeche you that I may haue your leve to to put that in my comission. Whereon I beseeche your lordeshipp not to forget to be a sewtor for me unto the Kyng's highnes concerning myn exchange, and specially for the remyssion of such debtes as ar yet behinde unpaid which I owe unto his grace. Thus, my lorde, right hastely fare you well. At Lambeth this XXI. daye of Julye.

“ On this I pray you shew unto me your advyse howe I shall ordre in my said visitacions such p̃sons as have transgressyd the King's grace's intentions.

Y^r euer and assured,

T. CANTUARIUS.”

In addition to what is here stated by the archbishop, we may subjoin, that although the Bible was now printed in English, yet its sale seems not to have been very rapid; for in the same volume of MSS. is a letter from Richard Grafton to Secretary Cromwell, praying that all other persons shall be forbidden, for three years, to print any other edition of it in the vulgar tongue, and until that he shall have sold his edition of 1500 copies; or that all curates and popish monasteries shall be forced to buy them*.

* The translation, by Wickliff, of the Bible was circulated by written copies; and the first English Bible, or rather the

Along with this is also a licence from Francis I. of France to Grafton, to print the English Bible at Paris. It was, however, as appears from a letter of Cranmer's, only on the 13th of August, 1537, that the royal licence was obtained for the open sale of Bibles in England.

Much opprobrium has been thrown upon the character of Henry, father of Lady Jane, by various writers, but there still seems much truth in what Brooke says, in his Catalogue of Nobility, that, by his cotemporaries, he was esteemed a man of great personal courage and much generosity; that he wanted not ambition, though he was a reserved man; loved to live in his own way, and was rather desirous to keep up that magnificence, for which our ancient nobility were so much distinguished, in the place of his residence in the country, than to involve himself in the intrigues of a court.

It was in consequence of this fondness for rural life,

New Testament only, ever printed, was in 1526. It was translated by Tindal, with some assistance, and was printed either at Hamburgh or Antwerp. In 1530 Tindal revised his translation, and a second edition was printed abroad, and sent over by stealth into England; almost the whole of the first impression having been bought up by Tonstal, Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, and burnt at Paul's Cross.

This second edition was proceeded against, and condemned in the Star Chamber in 1531; but at the same time the King ordered a new translation to be made, by the most learned of the

that at her birth, he was resident at his seat of Bradgate, in Leicestershire, situate on the edge of Charnwood forest; about two miles from Groby Castle, two from Mountsorrel, and four from Leicester, of which, at the present day, there are some venerable remains, that show it to have been a magnificent old mansion.



two universities, "that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God."

This order, however, was neglected by the bishops; nay, the new Bishop of London, Stokesly, bought up all Tindal's copies that he could procure, with many other books, and burnt them at St. Paul's. In 1537 Grafton and Whitechurch had their Bible printed at Hamburgh; when the King ordered, as Grafton had petitioned, that it should be read by all curates, and set up in all parish churches throughout the kingdom.

A second edition of this was printed at Paris, "there being better paper and cheaper to be had in France, and more dexterous workmen;" but the inquisitor general there soon took the matter

Of its state at that period, illustrative of the manners of the time, we find a description in Leland, who visited it in his perambulation through the kingdom, by order of Henry VIII. He says, "From Leicester to Brodegate, by groundes welle wooddid, 3 miles. At Brodegate is a faire parke, and a lodge lately buildid there by the lorde Thomas Gray, Marquise of Dorsete, father to Henry, that is now marquise. There is a fair and plentiful spring of water brought by master Brok, as a man would juge, agayne the hille, thoroug the lodge, and thereby it drivith a mylle."

The reason of the family residing at Bradgate, in preference to Groby, is evident from what Leland says of that ancient castle: "From Brodegate to Groby,

up as an affair of heresy, the printer was arrested, and the Englishmen employed were forced to fly; and the whole impression of 2500 was seized, and all burnt, except a few which were sold for waste paper.

Soon after the parties concerned went to Paris and got the presses, matrices, and workmen, whom they brought over to London, where, in 1540, the large Bible was printed.

Many translations have been made since; but the one, in general use in this country, is that translated by order of James I. by fifty-four learned men, in three years, and first printed in 1611. When the translation was completed, six of the translators were appointed to meet and revise the whole, which took them nine months.—Their pay for this latter labour was only 30s. a week each, which was given them by the Stationers' Company: what they received for the translation, we do not know. One of these learned translators was Mr. Boyes, afterwards a prebend of Ely. His capacity was such, that at five years of age he read the Bible in Hebrew.

a mile and a halfe much by wodden lande. There remayne few tokens of the old castelle, more then that yet is the hille that the kepe of the castelle stode on very notable; but there is now no stone work upon it."

That this castle had been permitted to go to decay may, perhaps, in a great measure, have been owing to the change of manners, which had been rising towards comfort, if not to elegance, from the period of tranquillity commencing with the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster, on the marriage of Henry VII. and Elizabeth; those gloomy edifices, raised with a view principally to defence, being totally unfit for that extension of domestic comfort now spreading through the kingdom. That it was, however, so utterly ruinous at that period, as Leland's description may be supposed to designate, is not probable; for fifty years afterwards, in 1590, Wyrley, a writer of that day, expressly says, that the existing ruins showed it to have been large and stately; and the park still remained.

Indeed, Leland only positively states the keep to have been destroyed, but not the site deserted; for he adds, that "the late Lord Thomas Marquesh filled up the ditch of it with earth, intending to make an herbare there." He then goes on to state, that "the ould parte of the worke that now is at Groby was made by the Ferrares." He even appears to say that some additions to the castle generally had been made very recently, although these buildings have

since been described as at Bradgate, for he adds, "But newer workes and buildings there *at Bradgate** were erected by the Lorde Thomas, first Marquesh of Dorset; among the which workes he began and erected the fundation and waulles of a greate gate house of brike, and a tour, but that was lefte halfe on finishid of hym, and so it standith yet. This Lord Thomas crected also and almost finishid ij toures of brike in the fronte of the house, as respondent on each side to the gate-house. There is a faire large parke by the place, a vi miles in compase. There is also a pcore village (Newtown Linpret) by the place, and a little broke (brook) by it. And a quarter of a mile from the place in the botom there is as faire and large a pole (pool) as lightly is in

* Mr. Nichols, in his History of Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 666, says, that the words "at Bradgate" are a variation taken from Mr. Burton's transcript of Leland, given by Thomas Allen, Esq. Lord of Finchley, to Dr. Stukely in 1758, and purchased by Mr. Gough at the sale of the doctor's library, 1766; and in another transcript, purchased by the same gentleman at the sale of Mr. Thomas, the architect's library, in 1801.

On a close examination, however, of the description by Leland, it does not appear as if that interpolation is judicious, the facts there stated appearing rather to refer to Groby than to Bradgate.

Yet it must not be denied that Mr. Nichols' opinion is in opposition to this, as he expressly says—"The printed editions, and Leland's own MS. have only the single word *there*, implying that the brick towers were at Groby; and thus Sir William Dugdale understood the passage. But from personal inspection of the ruins at both places, I have little doubt but that the reading here adopted is correct."

Leyrcestershire. 'There issuith a broket out of thys lake, that after cummith by Groby, and there dryvith a mylle, and after resortith to Sore river.'

That the family establishment of the marquess must have been upon a grand scale at the period in question, is evident from Leland's further statement.—
 "From Brodegate to Lughborow about a v miles. First, I cam oute of Bradgate Parke unto the forest of Charley, commonly callid the *wast*. This forest is a xx miles or more in cumpace, having plenty of woode; and the most parte of it at this time longgith to the Marquise of Dorsete, the residew to the king, and Erle of Huntingdune. In the forest is no good towne, nor scant a village.

"Riding almost in the entering of this forest, I saw 2 or 3 quarres or hilles of slate stone, longging to the Marquise of Dorsete. And riding a little farther, I left the parke of Bewmanor, closid with a stone walle, and a pratie logge yn it, longging alate to Beaumont.

"This parke cam to the Marquise of Dorsete by exchange of landes with the king. Thens a little way of to Burley Parke, now longging also to the Marquise of Dorsete. Thens scant a mile to Loughborow. The ruins of Whitewik Castell long now by permutation to the Marquise of Dorsete."

By this exchange of lands with the king, it is evident that the marquess had given up all idea even of

temporary residence at the ancient family seat of the Widvilles, at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, which his father had inherited from Richard, the third Earl of Rivers, with the single stipulation in his will that there should be as much underwood sold out of the woods at Grafton as would buy a bell, to be a tenor to the bells of the parish church, for the remembrance of the last of the blood. Indeed, it is probable that Grafton was not a mansion of any great extent*; at least, the family establishment of this the last earl must have been but small, for though he bequeathed to the parish church all the cattle which he then had at Grafton, to the intent that the priests there should yearly keep an obit for his soul, consisting of a dirge and masse of requiem, to be performed by the curate, four priests, and four clerks, also an herse and four tapers; yet those cattle did not consist of more than two oxen, five kine, and two bullocks; a small stock when compared with the style of housekeeping of the feudal barons of that age. In addition to the cattle, he gave five-pence wages to each priest, and three-pence to each clerk.

By these exchanges the marquess seems to have been sole possessor of the lands for miles around his mansion, with scarcely a neighbour, if any, qualified to

* Nichols, in his *Leicestershire*, observes, that a palace was afterwards built by Henry VIII. at Grafton, but destroyed in the civil wars.

associate with his family on terms of intimacy. Indeed, the only person with the rank of gentleman, noticed by Leland, is thus introduced:—"From Brodegate to Bellegrave village a 4 miles by woddy and pasture ground. This village is about a mile lower, on Sore then Leirecester is; and I cam over a great stone bridge or I enterid into it. There dewellith a gentilmen by the name of Bellegrave, a men of a 50 li. of possessions by the yere. There is also a nother mene gentilman of the Bellegraves yn Leirecestershire."

The house of Bradgate, then standing at the birth of Lady Jane, was built by her grandfather Thomas, the second marquess, and is called by Burton, "a very faire, large, and beautiful house," as then standing in 1608.

Should any of our fair readers wish to trace the scenes of early life of our interesting heroine, we may here notice, on the authority of the accurate and indefatigable Mr. Nichols, that the old mansion house was built principally of brick; a square with four turrets are at each corner. Enough of the walls still remain to assist the fancy in tracing out the various apartments, especially some vestiges of the kitchen; and the vaults or cellars are now overgrown with nettles and alder. The garden walls are nearly entire, and the garden terrace may still be seen. The author already quoted describes a little stream as running by the side of the garden, near which stand some beautiful old

chestnut trees, which, especially when in bloom, give the whole an air of grandeur. He adds, that the pleasure grounds are easily distinguishable; and though they have now somewhat the appearance of a wilderness, yet they strongly indicate that once, where the nettle and the thistle now reign in peace, the rose and the lily sprang luxuriantly. The park is still very extensive, and walled round, and well stocked with deer; it is famous for very fine fern; and the prospects in it are unusually romantic, from the intermixture of venerable trees and rugged rocks; whilst from a hill called Old John there is a most extensive view over seven counties. It is not very many years since it has thus become a complete ruin; for, very recently, an aged person remembered the principal part of the house quite entire. He had been in all the rooms, and noticed that there was a door out of the dining room into the chapel.

The careful observer may yet discover some traces of the tilt yard; but the courts are now occupied by rabbits, and shaded with chestnut trees and mulberries. The lover of the picturesque will be particularly struck with the approach from Thurcaston, especially at the keeper's lodge, where the view is truly enchanting. On the left appears a large grove of venerable trees; on the right are the ruins of the mansion, surmounted by rugged rocks and aged oaks; the forest hills, with the tower on the hill called Old John, forming the

back ground of the prospect: whilst the valley, through which the trout stream runs, extends in front, with clumps to shade the deer, and terminates in a narrow winding glen, thickly clothed with an umbragious shade*.

Such was the birthplace of our heroine; but the manners of that day also require some illustration.

There was then, as long before, great magnificence exhibited by the higher orders of nobility; who, as well expressed by a modern antiquary, seated in their castles, lived in a state and splendour very much resembling, and scarce inferior, to that of the royal court. Their household was established upon the same plan—their officers bore the same titles—and their warrants ran in the same form and style. On this subject, the same author adds, that the extreme minuteness of the household arrangements of that day may excite surprise, but may easily be explained upon historic principles; for as our nobility, in the more early times, lived in their castles with a gross and barbarous magnificence, surrounded with rude and warlike followers, without control, and without system; yet as they gradually emerged from this barbarity, they found it necessary to establish very minute domestic regulations, in order to keep their turbulent followers in peace and order. In fact, from living in a state of disorderly grandeur, it is not surprising that they should run

* Vide Nichols' *Leicestershire*, vol. iii. p. 681.

into the opposite extreme of reducing every thing, even the most trifling disbursements, to stated formal rules.

The state of society, in short, seems well pictured, where it is observed that a noblemen, even up to the dawn of learning which was now breaking out, when retired to his mansion, had neither books, nor newspapers, nor literary correspondence, nor visits, nor cards, to fill up his leisure: his only amusements were field sports; and as these, however eagerly pursued, could not fill up all his vacant hours, the government of his household would therefore be likely enough to engage his attention, if he happened to be a prudent man; and thus, from a mere desire of employment, he would be led to descend to the most studied minuteness in his regulations and establishments.

All this state, however, was sometimes laid aside; for it appears, by the Percy household book, from which many of these notices have been elicited, that at certain times of the year* the nobility retired from their principal mansion to some little adjoining lodge, where they lived private; no longer kept open house, but put their servants upon board wages, dismissed part of them to go to their friends, and only retained a few of the most necessary about their person. Yet in this retirement the nominal state was kept up, at

least in some of the great families; for it appears that when Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who drew up the well known household book, had retired to his privacy, or "secret," as called, he still possessed his great officers, as represented by his younger sons and the young gentlemen who were constantly resident with him.

The interior arrangements of noble mansions were, about this period, becoming more commodious. Hitherto, in the castles of the feudal barons, the apartments had been merely of two kinds; chambers principally within the castle keep or donjon, or else in the smaller towers; and in small detached edifices within the range of the outer walls: but these latter, owing to the unskilful architecture of these simple times*, were clustered together without any symmetry or beauty. The diminution of feudal power, however, under Henry VII. had led to the construction of more regular habitations, though still preserving the fortified character of the ancient castle. The nobles still ate their meals in Gothic halls, either seated at the high table; or, on days not of very high state, at a table in the oriel, or small apartment or recess at the upper end, whilst the dependants took their stations at the side tables. In fact, the arrangement was similar to a dinner in the Temple Hall in term time: only with this difference, that at the baronial board the strictest

* Antiq. Rep. iv. 327.

silence was preserved, except the issuing of the watch-words by which the different courses were served up.

These halls were lofty; but, the windows being at a high elevation, were in general obscurely lighted: besides, being garnished with corslets, helmets, coats of mail, shields, lances, pikes, maces, halberds, &c. they looked more like the armoury in the Tower than places of social mirth or jocund conviviality; which, however, they often were, at specific festivals, when mumming, morris-dancing, and other rustic sports, were patronised and applauded. The attendance on the superior nobility, in these halls, and of course at Bradgate, was not only by menials, but also by gentlemen, who did not disdain to accept of household offices, and the sons of gentlemen, who were domesticated for the purposes of education and formation of manners. Of these gentlemen there were some appointed to wait before noon, who afterwards had leave to go about their own business; when others came in attendance, to fill up the various offices of gentlemen ushers, of carvers, servers, cupbearers, gentlemen waiters, marshal, &c. The hall and the chapel were the principal apartments of castles; the others being too small for baronial magnificence.

Whilst popery existed, the nobility displayed a great regard to the grandeur of the choral service in their chapels, vying with each other in the splendour, ornaments, and numbers, of their choirs, until even the

council of Trent found it necessary to interpose for the restoration of the service to its primitive simplicity and dignity; an object more effectually gained by the Reformation.

Tea and coffee being then unknown, their meals were very different from ours. Breakfast consisted of bread, beer, wine, salt fish, white herrings, sprats, ling, turbot, or other fish, during Lent; but at other seasons there were added chines of beef, or of boiled mutton, chickens, butter, buttered eggs, &c. These must have been served up rather coarsely, for forks were not then in use; and therefore washing, both before and after meals, became absolutely necessary.

But if their manners were not very refined at table, yet they had most certainly the best of every thing; as appears from a curious document, a very few years earlier in date, of the dinner parties in the time of Henry VII.* “Their vitail was not to be singlerly nemid, for the moost dilecat deynties and curyous mets that might be purveyed or gotten within the hoole realme of Englande, the which ev^r therof hath opteyned the praise and comendaçôn emonge all other cuntres or naçons in th^e world, blessed by th^e auctor Almighty God; bothe flesshe, veneson wilde and tame, fische, and the remeñnt of every maner of viand, wynnys of all maner of kiend, spices, pleasurs, and subtiltes of the cunyng appreparyng of the cooks.”

* Antiq. Rep. ii. 291.

At the dinner hour the custom was, notwithstanding their hospitality, to shut the great gates of the castle; the whole establishment sitting down, according to gradation, in the hall: sometimes, however, a slight alteration was made by laying two tables in the dining room, at the first of which sat the lord and his family, together with such titled nobles as were on a visit; at the second sat "knights and honourable gentlemen." In such case the tables in the hall were generally three: at the first sate the steward, comptroller, secretary, master of the horse, master of the fish-ponds, the tutor, if one in the family, together with such gentlemen as came there under the degree of a knight; at the second table, the server, gentlemen waiters, and pages; at the third, the clerk of the kitchen, yeomen, officers of the household, grooms of the chambers, &c.

It was customary, though perhaps in rather later times, to have a table in the apartment of the gentlewomen of the lady's chamber, where also sat the chaplains; and two in the housekeeper's room for the ladies' women.

The lord's table was attended by the comptroller and server, assisted by gentlemen's sons bred up in the castle, together with the lord's gentlemen of the chamber, and the lady's gentleman usher, &c. The second table was attended by footmen.

More attention was paid at this period also to internal ornament. The ceilings were now superbly carved,

and the sides of the rooms, except where tapestry was used, ornamented with a great profusion of sculpture in wood or stucco, exhibiting the armorial bearings of the family, together with devices, badges, and various family proverbs, set off with all the advantages of painting, gilding, and imagery*. The staircases too were now of more curious contrivance, with screens, embattled at the top, or covered with bold sculpture: and the principal apartments were now the gallery, the chapel, the lord's chamber, the lady's closet, the gentlemen's chamber, the drawing chamber, the great chamber, the dining room, and nursery.

In fact, the lady had as much state in her own apartments as in the general family establishment; having not only gentlewomen of the chamber, but also a groom of the lady's chamber, whose duty was something like that of a modern chambermaid—to keep it in order. There were pages also; but these were the youngest of the gentlemen's sons, who, as they advanced in years, were presented to more manly, or rather more masculine offices.

Some idea of the female domestic manners of the time, as just approaching towards our modern luxury, and also marking the state and grandeur of Lady Jane's family, may be drawn from a letter, (preserved in the British Museum †), written by Cecyl, wife of Thomas,

* *Antiq. Rep.* iv. 336.

† *Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vesp. F. xiii.* 91.

Marquess of Dorset, to one of her household, and dated from Bedwell :

“ Cromwell,—I woll that you send to me yn hast the kussbyn beds of cloth of tyssew, and the fether beds with the fustoun, and a materas, longgyng to the same, with the countpoynt. Also I woll that you de-lyver all such tents, pavilyons, and halls, as you have of myne, or to my sonne Edward, as you tender my pleasure. And thys shall be yo^r suffysyent warrāt and discharge att all tymes. Wrytyn at Bedwell thys present thursdaye by foore our Lady Daye the assūp-cyon.

“ CECYL DORSET.”

We may add, that the tables of the great were now pretty well supplied with fruit. The superior families also set great value upon gardening; and they had all manner of European fruits, herbs, and flowers: and the gardens, though very formal in parterres and terraces, were well kept and trimmed.

With their fruit they were not deficient in wines; those in use being “Gaskoine,” sweet “Raynish,” Rochell, &c. At the period of this history, however, wine was not very common in general domestic use; but some years afterwards, in the Earl of Worcester’s establishment at Ragland Castle, it is stated to have

been served up very plentifully, not only at the lord's board, but even at the upper tables of the household.

In regard to some other points of illustration, we may record, that the mode of travelling at this period must have been very uncomfortable for families ; for it was not until about forty years afterwards that coaches were first brought into England by the Earl of Arundel. It is true, that the word *chariot* appears in the first English translations of the Bible ; but it is evident, from contemporary facts, that these chariots were merely waggons drawn by six or more horses, for conveying the household furniture from one mansion to another, as the family changed its residence, for the due consumption of the produce of the demesnes surrounding each castle or mansion of the possessor ; for at that period a noble lord could not send the produce of his meadows to the Haymarket, nor his gooseberries and wall-fruit to Covent Garden.

It has been said, indeed, that the name of chariot was given to a kind of litter *, borne up by an axle-tree and two wheels ; used by citizens' wives who were not able nor allowed to keep ordinary litters. These litters were carried by horses, not drawn ; and ladies either lay on them, or rode on palfreys with pillions or side saddles.

We have now taken a general view of that state of

* Antiq. Rep. iv. 328.

society and of manners in which our heroine was born to mingle, and to ornament, had she escaped the dangers* of ambition : and have only further to notice some remarks of that intelligent and indefatigable antiquary, Mr. Nichols ; who, describing Bradgate in his elaborate work on Leicestershire, observes most justly, that it is impossible to think on the sweet disposition and wonderful accomplishments of Lady Jane, without having the heart elated by the sublimest, as well as by the tenderest feelings. He exclaims, how interested must we feel about Bradgate when we recollect it was not only the birthplace, but the scene of the happy childhood, and the early studies of this incomparable heroine. Yet perhaps the phrase “ happy childhood ” is not most appropriately given to that period of her life ; for Fuller states, that although she was bred by her parents, according to her high birth, in religion and in learning, yet they were no whit indulgent to her in childhood, but extremely severe, more than needed to so sweet a temper ; for, as he asks, what need of iron instruments to bow wax ? But then he adds, that as the sharpest winters, correcting the rankness of the earth, cause the more healthful and fruitful summers ; so the harshness of her breeding compacted her soul to the greater patience and piety, whence she afterwards proved the mirror of her age.

Of her very earliest years of infancy, we have not been able, after the strictest research, to procure many

particulars: except that her *first* appearance in *public* was at the ceremony of baptism; which must undoubtedly have taken place in the church at Bradgate; such being then the custom with highest in rank, the Princess Elizabeth, as we find in Hall's Chronicle, being baptized in the church, and not in a private chapel. It is true, that private, nay, even *lay baptism*, was then permitted, but only in cases of necessity; for which purpose females, (*accoucheuses*) were actually licensed by the bishops to perform that sacred rite. That ceremony, however, was Roman catholic; and how far the reformists then adhered to Romish rituals it is not easy to ascertain.

In Henry the Eighth's Prayer-book, or "Prymer," (which we have examined, and of which we believe there is but one copy in the metropolis), there is not any particular form laid down; nor, if there were, could we positively state it to be that used at Lady Jane's baptism; for, between the printing of that prayer-book and its publication in 1544, Henry's mind seems to have undergone various changes in regard both to religious forms and opinions. In fact, many parts are crossed out with a pen, by authority, leaving out whole prayers, whilst, in other places, prayers printed for "our Lady" have that address scratched out, and the supplication addressed, by written interpolation in the margin, to our Lord and Saviour! We shrink from any thing like irreverent

jest or light sarcasm upon a subject so awful ; but we cannot state the case in more cautious language. It is, however, too curious a fact, in regard to the progress of the reformed religion, to pass unnoticed.

To judge of the probable mode of conducting the ceremony in question, it is sufficient to state that the whole of the family, with their guests, godfathers, and godmothers, &c. formed a long procession from the mansion to the parish church : sometimes indeed of great length, for the number of sponsors, of both sexes, was at this period unlimited. It is probable, that the dowager marchioness was present at this ceremony, for at that of Elizabeth, only a few years before, she appeared as godmother ; her son the marquess, Lady Jane's father, also attending in the procession, in which, in his robes of estate, he bore the salt.

When the procession arrived at the church door, it was met by the clergyman, and the child was there named, after a short prayer. It is probable, on the occasion in question, that the Rev. Mr. Harding, then family chaplain at Bradgate, was either the officiating or assisting priest ; but on this precise point our research has been unavailing. The name being given, the infant was carried to the font, which then stood in the middle of the church, and not in the baptistery, with a canopy over it, upon occasions of great state, to preserve the consecrated water from pollution. The water was not, in general, consecrated upon each oc-

casion, but only once a month, during which time it was allowed to remain in the font; and this was the case for some time after Lady Jane's baptism, as appears by the first liturgy of Edward VI. the forms in which, we have reason to believe, were strictly in consonance with the reformed ritual previously adopted, but not confirmed by authority. From thence it appears, that the introductory prayer was, that Jesus Christ, upon whom, when he was baptized, the Holy Ghost came down in the form of a dove, would send down the same Holy Spirit to sanctify the fountain of baptism; after which it was the custom to dip the child in the water thrice: first on the right side; then on the left; and finally with its face into the font; a trine immersion in honour of the holy Trinity. Sprinkling, as now, was not then practised; nor, indeed, until some time after in Elizabeth's reign, when the clergy, exiled during Mary's tyranny, returned from Geneva, and introduced that with other continental reformed customs: it is necessary to add, however, that pouring or sprinkling had been allowed in cases of danger to the health of the infant. It certainly appears that the dipping was both a sometimes dangerous and always an indelicate custom: but there is reason to believe that, at least in the case of adults, a robe fitted close to the form was permitted.

After the child was baptized, the custom was for the sponsor to impose their hands upon it; after

which the minister put on to the young christian a white vestment, commonly called the chrysome, or chresom, saying, "Take this white vestment as a token of the innocency which, by God's grace, in this holy sacrament of baptism, is given unto thee: and for a sign, whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocence of living, that after this transitory life thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting,"—a form of adjuration most pointedly applicable to the young christian in question, and of which all our succeeding sheets will present an interesting illustration.

After the anointing, or unction, which was still preserved from former rituals, the gifts of the sponsors were offered; consisting generally of articles rather of ornament than use. At the baptism of Elizabeth, already noticed, the gift of Lady Jane's grandmother consisted of three gilt bowls with covers. This done, then refreshments were brought into the church, of wafers, comfits, and hypocrass, a spiced wine; and in such plenty, that all present might freely partake and enjoy abundantly. Preparations were then made for the returning procession; in which the sponsorial presents were borne before the infant: and the company were regaled at the mansion, agreeable to the forms of feudal hospitality, with such additional amusements in the festive hall as were suited to the tastes and capacities of the lowest retainers of the family, yet in

which the nobility and gentry did not disdain to mix, and thus mixing, highly to enjoy, laying aside their state amidst the general jollity !

As Henry's conduct to the Princess Mary, and his cruelty towards Elizabeth's mother, had set them aside, as it were, from the succession, people were now looking towards the issue of his sisters to fill the throne ; but the king was again married to Jane Seymour, and now had hopes of male issue ; and Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI., was born, in 1538 : the public notification of which appears to have been made by the queen herself ; the following document being still extant in the British Museum.

“ By the Queene,

“ Ryght trustie and ryght wellbelovid we greeete you well ; and forasmuche as by the inestimable goodnes and grace of Almyghtie God, we be delivered and broughte in childbed of a prince, conceived in most lawfull matrimony betweene my lorde the king's majestie and us, doubting not but that for the love and affection wch ye beare unto us, and to the comōwealth of this realme, the knowledge thereof should be joyous and glad tydings unto you, wee have thought good to certyfy you of the same, to the intente ye myght not onlie render unto God condigne thanks and prayes for so great a benefyte, but also contynuallic praye for the long continuance and preservatyon

of the same here in this lyfe to the honoure of God, joye and pleasure of my_lorde the kinge and us, and the universalle weale, quiet, and tranquilitye of this whole realme. Given under our signet at my lorde's manoir of Hampton Courte, the xij. day of October."

From this birth both Henry and the nation had great hopes, which were fully confirmed by the early promise of the prince: so that the young Edward soon became not only a subject of conversation at the firesides of all ranks, but even a watch-word in the public schools. In the British Museum* there is a MSS. which professes to detail how "Mr. Herne, a school-master, incited his unwilling scholars to apply themselves more diligently to their books, and to improve in their learning, by their emulating the example of their prince."

In short, the prince's fame began to spread over Europe: his father, however, seems not to have been so much admired; for in the Museum† there is a letter from Thomas Parrie to Ralph Vane, one of Lord Cromwell's gentlemen, written in 1539, telling him how cruelly he had been used in the inquisition at Seville, for saying that Henry VIII. was a good christian; whereas the holy inquisitors said that he was a heretic, and if they had him there, all the world should not save him from burning!

* Harl. Coll. 419. 38.

† Harl. Coll. 295.

This was likely enough; but Henry was better occupied at his own court, which was now held in great state, both in town and at Hampton. Some of the customs were curious. On New Year's Day, 1540, the Marquess of Dorset presented to King Henry a brace of greyhounds; to which the dowager marchioness added a garter, the buckle and pendant of which were of gold. The young marchioness presented "a linnen and two collors, the turrets gilte". A shirt of cambric, wrought with silk, formed the offering of the Marquess's brother, the Lord Richard; whilst Lord Leonard sent an Irish ambling hobby; and their sister, the Lady Margaret, presented twelve handkerchiefs edged with gold. The monarch seems to have returned presents of equal value: to the marquess a gilt glass with a gold cover; to the dowager a gilt cruse with a cover; to the young marchioness a gold cup with a cover; and similar remembrances to the other branches of the Dorsets. There were many others of the same nature from various nobles, but we only record those, as more particularly relative to Lady Jane's family.

We may here add, that Sir John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and father-in-law to Lady Jane, was now rising into rank and opulence, as well as into high favour both with king and people. He had been long attendant both upon the court and camp; but in this year, 1540, he exhibited himself

more pointedly as a candidate for splendid fame, according to the chivalrous manners of that day. His residence, either now or very soon afterwards, appears to have been fixed at Durham House, built in the Strand, at a place formerly called Ivybridge, by Thomas de Hatfield, then Bishop of Durham, in 1345, about the 26th of Henry VIII. However, it came to the crown by an exchange with Bishop Tonstall, and was granted by that monarch, in 1540, for some temporary rejoicings and entertainments connected with what Stowe calls "a great and triumphant justing," held on May-day in the Tilt Yard at Westminster. This tournament had been proclaimed in Flanders, Scotland, and in Spain, for all comers who would undertake the English challengers, six in number; Sir John Dudley, afterwards Northumberland, Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord Sudley, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Kts., together with Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell, Esquires.

On the appointed day, these gallant knights and esquires rode into the tilt-yard richly apparelled in brilliant armour, with all due heraldic insignia, and their horses trapped in white velvet. To oppose their prowess there were no less than forty-six respondents, all of whom, however, were English, as far as their names appear; the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to

the Earl of Essex. After the jousts were performed*, the challengers rode to Durham House, where they kept open household during the tournaments, and feasted the king and queen, with her ladies, and all the court.

On the second day, the king was so pleased with the gallantry and chivalrous bearing of the two esquires challenging, Kingston and Cromwell, that he bestowed the honour of knighthood on them. Stowe tells us that the 3d day of May, the said challengers did tourney, on horseback with swords, and against them came forty-nine defendants; Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surry running first, who at the first course lost their gauntlets; and that day Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew master Palmer and his horse in the field, to the great honour of the challengers.

The 5th of May the challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and against them came fifty defendants, who fought valiantly; but Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew, that day, at the barriers, master Culpepper in the field.

On the 6th day the challengers broke up their household; and Stowe goes on to inform us that during this tournament, they had not only feasted the king, queen, ladies, and all the court, as is before showed, but also they cheered all the knights and bur-

* Stowe's Survey.

gesses of the Commons House of Parliament, and entertained the Mayor of London, with the aldermen and their wives, at a dinner.

The king, as a special mark of favour and approbation, gave to each of the challengers, and to their heirs for ever, in reward of their valiant activity, one hundred marks, and a house to dwell in, of yearly revenue out of the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; the gateway of which still remains, and is known as St. John's Gate, near Smithfield.

When Edward came to the crown, he granted Durham House to his sister Elizabeth for life, or until she were otherwise advanced; and, as she did not take up her residence in town, it was probably from her that it may have been rented, or borrowed by Lady Jane's father, or else by the Duke of Northumberland; at least Lady Jane was certainly resident there some time after her marriage, and at the period of her being called to the throne.

In the old plan of London, this house appears to have been a noble pile, agreeable to the architecture of that day; at least, in its front to the river: but towards the close of the century it seems to have fallen into decay, for Stowe says it was well known and observed that the outward part belonging thereto, and standing north from the houses, was but a low row of stables, old, ruinous, ready to fall, and very unsightly in so public a passage to the court and to Westminster.

This was taken down, and various alterations ensued ; but these are irrelevant to the present subject ; it is enough to add, that the house of the Society of Arts, and part of the Adelphi, now stands upon the site of the house and gardens, and that a small portion of the original mansion may still be traced in the right hand wall going down into Durham Yard from the Strand.

In all these court festivities the Marquess of Dorset's family, when in town, bore a part ; but Lady Jane, being still in her infancy, resided at Bradgate, where she already was taught to attend close to her studies. The Brandon family also, as relatives of the monarch, were constant at court : but the Princess Mary, though now in womanhood, was not permitted to appear ; besides which she had other sources of vexation and disappointment.

In fact, Mary's disappointments in regard to marriage began whilst Lady Jane was yet an infant ; for in 1541, a treaty of union between her and the Duke of Orleans had been proposed by the French ambassador. This was in part acceded to by the king, who directed instructions to be sent to his ambassador at Paris for its furtherance, and offering such dower as Mary, the king's sister, had brought when she married King Lewis. In these instructions*, indeed, it appears that little dependence was placed on the offers made ; they being considered as rather made in reference to

* Brit. Mus. Ayscough, No. 1149. 2.

the payment of arrearages on certain pensions, and as more in show than in substance. On the part of the English court, also, a portion was demanded for the duke equivalent to that of the proposed bride. The negotiation, however, from the first, appears not to have had any probable chance of success, as they were accompanied with a complaint "of great wronges done to us at sea by the French."

But the king's opinion upon this subject was even more strongly expressed in the following year, when he declared that he considered the diplomatic demands of portion with Mary, and of the arrearages of pensions to be discharged, to be "grounded rather upon a desire of gaine and lucre, than upon good amitie." It was further added in the instructions to Mr. Pagett, our ambassador, that the "amitie should preceed marriage, which this demand held no conference with," and therefore referred to one more reasonable.

The very early promise of genius and excellence in Lady Jane induced her parents, especially as they had no sons, to afford her every facility even of a learned education. Education was, as yet, indeed but in its infancy. Learning, in general, was little more than downright pedantry; whilst amongst the fashionable world, the conversation and habits of life were as starched as their dresses. Both classes, gentry and citizens, lived in great ignorance: they had little learn-

ing themselves; and few of them thought of improving their children. Severity too was their most frequent engine; and, whether at home or at school, the youth of both sexes were kept in order more by fear than love. Daughters, in particular, even in womanhood, are described as being obliged to stand at the cupboard side during visits; except when permitted to have a cushion to kneel on: and then also it was not unusual, even before company, for ladies of the first rank to correct their grown up daughters with the large fans which it was the fashion to carry.

Even the amiable and ingenious Jane appears to have been too much subjected to this treatment, yet she improved daily, it may be said, in spite of it.

In an elegy, written after her death, by Sir Thomas Chaloner, she is commended not only for her beauty, but also for that which was a greater charm, her intelligent and interesting style of conversation. He speaks too of her stupendous skill in languages, being well versed in eight, consisting of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides that of her native land, in which she was well grounded. He further observes, that she had a natural wit, and that much improved by art and study. She played well on instrumental music. She wrote an excellent hand; and she was as excellent at her needle.

Notwithstanding all these endowments, Chaloner af-

firms, that she was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit, and never showed an elated mind until she manifested it at her death.

To boarding-school misses of the present day it may seem strange, that young ladies in those times should have troubled themselves with so many tongues, but the fact is not the less certain; as we are told by *Udal*, in his dedication to Queen Katherine Parr, of the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Four Gospels, that a "greet number of noble women at that time in England were given to the studie of human sciences and of strange tongues." In short, he says, that "it was a common thyng to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters, that thei willyngly set all other vain pastymes at naught for learnynge's sake. It was now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progenie, instede of courtly daliaunce to embrace virtuous exercises, readyng and writyng, and with moste earneste studie both erlye and late, to apply themselves to the acquiryng of knowledge as well as all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most specially of God and his most holy writ. And in this behalf, lyke as to your highnesse, as well for comþosyng and setting forth many godly psalmes and diverse other contemplative meditations, as also for causyng these paraphrases to be translated into our vulgare language, England can never be able to render thanks sufficient."

Not only did languages form a great part of female education, but philosophy also ; such as it was at that day, bursting from the trammels of the schools and of catholic ignorance : for if, at this period, philosophy was much indebted to the revival of letters, it was not less benefited by the reformation of religion.

No sooner did the friends of truth and virtue apply themselves to the correction of religious errors, and endeavour to free mankind from the yoke of ecclesiastical domination, to which the whole western world had for ages tamely submitted, than philosophy, which had been loaded with the same chains with religion, began to lift up her head and to breathe a freer air*.

Determined no longer to yield implicit obedience to human authority, but to exercise their own understandings, and follow their own judgments, these bold reformers prosecuted religious and philosophical inquiries with an independent spirit, which soon led them to discover the futility and absurdity of the scholastic method of philosophising ; and enabled them, at the same time, in a great measure, to correct the errors of philosophy, and to reform the corruptions of religion†.

* Enfield's *Philosophy*. ii. 413.

† Great facilities were certainly given to classical learning in England about this period, by means of Lily's *Grammar*. Fuller, in his *Church History*, observes, that Lily was an excellent scholar, born at Odiam, in Hampshire, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; and on his return through Italy, there applied himself to his studies, under John Sulpitius and Pom-

How necessary all this was is evident, when we recollect that Greek literature had not begun to revive

ponius Sabinus. After some time, "returning home into his native country well accomplished with Latin, Greek, and all arts and sciences, he set forth a grammar, which still goes under his name, and is universally taught all over England." The first edition of this grammar was in 1513, about the time of the foundation of St. Paul's school, of which Lily was appointed the first master; respecting which Fuller says that formerly in England there were almost as many grammars as schoolmasters, children being confounded, not only with their variety, but, sometimes, contrariety thereof, rules being true in the one which were false in the other; "yea, which was the worst, a boy when removed to a new school, lost all he had learned before." It was in consequence of this, that Henry VIII. endeavoured to produce an uniformity of grammar throughout the kingdom, so that youths, though changing their masters, might still preserve their learning: for which purpose Lily's Grammar was ordered to be adopted. It was declared penal for schoolmasters publicly to teach any other; and the king's printer was allowed a stipend of £4 per annum for printing it.

But it appears that the order for enforcing its general use was not absolutely successful; as there is an anecdote told of Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, who, examining a free-school in his diocese, and finding the scholars totally ignorant of Lily's rules, exclaimed, "What! are there puritans also in grammar?"

Yet, though the study of classical languages was making great progress, the English language itself was not so much attended to; for in the list of English school books, given by Dr. Drake, as likely to have formed the early studies of Shakespeare, we only find *one* published as early as 1537, the year of Lady Jane's birth, and called "Certain briefe rules of the Regiment or Construction of the Eight Partes of Speech in English and Latin."

There was indeed some kind of grammatical institute then in use, called the Grammar of Henry VIII., which afterwards, in

even at Oxford, more than fifty years; nay, it was still opposed by a set of students who called themselves Trojans, and represented it as a dangerous novelty.

It must, however, be allowed that literature had been, even at this early date, patronized by some of the nobility, as appears from an anecdote related by Erasmus, not many years before (1510), when, during his residence in England, he published a translation of the *Hecuba* of Euripides into Latin verse, to which having added some poems of his own composition, he dedicated the whole to Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

Agreeably to etiquette, he waited on that prelate at Lambeth, whither he went accompanied by his friend Grocyn, of whom he had formerly said, in a letter to a friend, "In Grocyn I admire an universal compass of

Elizabeth's time, was admitted into schools, to the exclusion of all others.

There was another grammar printed in 1536, called the *Rudimenta Grammatica*; but that was more for Latin and English; besides, it was written by Wolsey himself, expressly for the school which he founded at his native town of Ipswich. There was also a similar one by Dean Colet; but that too was a sort of exclusive publication; being only intended for his own school of St. Paul's.

It is a curious fact, that there was not a dictionary of the English language during the life of Lady Jane; there was one indeed "by Syr Thomas Elliot, declaring Latin into English," and it appears to have been held in some estimation: for a second edition of it was published in 1552, greatly improved and enriched by Thomas Cooper.

learning;" yet Grocyn, it appears, was not admitted with him into the presence of the archbishop, for he asked him, on their return, what present he had received; Erasmus replied, laughing, "a very considerable sum;" but the prelate's character, perhaps, not standing very high for literary patronage, Grocyn considered him as in jest. Erasmus then mentioned the sum; which drew from Grocyn the observation, that Warham was rich and generous enough to have made him a much handsomer present; but he added, that he certainly suspected that Erasmus had only presented him with a book already dedicated elsewhere. This nettled the Dutchman, who inquired, "how such a suspicion could enter his head?" "Because such hungry scholars as you," replied his friend, "who stroll about the world and dedicate books to noblemen, are apt to be guilty of such tricks!"

Indeed Erasmus says, in a letter to Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's school, that there was no country which had furnished him with so many learned and generous benefactors as even the single city of London.

It is also a curious fact, that Lady Jane's grandfather, Thomas, second Marquess of Dorset, actually bequeathed an annuity of £20 to his son's preceptor, though he judged £10 each yearly, "toward theyr fyndynge," to three of his sons, to be quite sufficient until they should arrive at the age of fifteen; to be

increased indeed to £20, from that period, during the remainder of their minority.

It was a happy thing for our heroine, that circumstances had prepared for her a most able and worthy preceptor, in the person of John Aylmer.

This eminent divine, afterwards Bishop of London, had for his patrons, first, Henry Marquess of Dorset, who sent him to school, maintained him at the university, and made him tutor to his children; secondly, Francis, Earl of Huntingdon. His steadfastness towards the protestant religion may be drawn from an anecdote related by Thomas Becon, in a work called the Jewel of Joy: that author being an old friend and professor of the gospel, and fearing Henry VIII. resolved for his safety to conceal himself in Leicestershire, where he was kindly received by Aylmer, to whom he gives the character, “that he was excellently well learned both in Latin and Greek; that with him alone in that county he had lived familiarly; there being probably not one else that he dared to trust, lest he might be betrayed by them.” Becon adds, that Aylmer was for some time the only preacher in Leicestershire; where he so effectually fixed the protestant religion that neither force nor fraud could blot it out; the gospel being there retained without contention, which could be said then of but few other places.

How much Lady Jane improved from Aylmer’s in-

structions, may be judged from what Strype says, in his life of that pious and learned divine, affirming that as she was a lady of excellent parts, so by his instruction she attained to a degree above her sex in the knowledge of Latin and Greek ; so that she read, and that with ease and delight, Plato and Demosthenes, and wrote excellently well : and that he also bred her up in piety as well as learning, being very devout to God, and a serious embracer of evangelical doctrine purged from the superstition of Rome. She also derived great advantages from the well known Roger Ascham, whose family seem to have resided in the vicinity of Bradgate. He was for some years preceptor to the Princess Elizabeth ; but, in Lady Jane's girlish days, he was employed at Bradgate in teaching the children to write, he being an exquisite penman himself ; which may account for the beautiful hand written by her.

Of Ascham, Dr. Johnson observes that his father was house-steward in the family of Scroop ; and in that age, when the different orders of men were at a greater distance from each other, and the manners of gentlemen were regularly formed by menial services in great houses, he lived with a very conspicuous reputation. We may observe, however, in regard to the manners of those times, that the sons of gentlemen were not engaged in the " menial " services of their lords, more, perhaps not so much, as the sons of gentlemen in the present day, when apprenticed to the mercantile, or

any other genteel trade or profession: for the young gentlemen of the noble establishments retired with the nobles from their castles when they went to live "in secret," as it was called, and only served in domestic offices in conjunction with the younger sons of the lord; whilst, at the baronial castle, their attendance was more matter of state than of service, and so far on a par with service at the court itself.

But the most remarkable fact stated by Johnson about Ascham, is *now* particularly deserving of notice; for speaking of his study of Greek, he says, that Ascham thought a language might be most easily learnt by teaching it; and when he had obtained some proficiency in Greek, read lectures, while he was yet a boy, to other boys, who were desirous of instruction.

It is evident that whatever refinement of manners Lady Jane possessed must rather have been from the ancient classics than from the then modern poets. That Chaucer and Gower formed part of her library, cannot indeed well be doubted, considering the paucity of books at that period; Skelton, too, whose death was so near to her birth that he may be called her contemporary, may also have been upon her table or shelf; particularly as he held the office of laureate at the court of Henry; at least so Mr. Chalmers, in his biography of that poet, considers probable, from the titles of some of his productions. Yet his works were but little fitted, generally speaking, for a female eye: his principal

object being to satirise the friars, Lily the grammarian, and Cardinal Wolsey. Chalmers observes that his style was rather coarse, perhaps illiberal; but yet, as he attacked the Romish superstitions, his poems were likely to be popular in the reformed families. It may be added, that some of his worst writings were not published until after the death of Lady Jane.

If indeed we were to judge of the manners of the court in that age by Skelton's poems, that court must have been a very unfit place for such a virtuous and youthful personage as Lady Jane, who, as we shall see, long resided at it; but let us judge liberally with Mr. Chalmers, that if we knew more minutely of the manners of our country in those remote periods, it would probably be found that licentiousness had, upon the whole, been more discouraged than patronized by the public voice. It appears from Skelton's poem, *The Crowne of Lawrell*, that the Greek and Latin poets were in some measure familiar in fashionable education. He speaks of Theocritus, Lucan, Plautus, &c. also of the Italian school of Boccaccio, Dante, and Poggio, ranking them with Gower and Chaucer. But one short extract from that poem we shall insert; as it not only shows how fit many parts of his works were for female perusal, but also exhibits a correct picture of female manners at the period in question.

Having encountered *Occupation* as personified in a poetic ramble, he thus proceeds :

“ Thus talking, we went forth, and at a postern gate,
Turning on the right hand, by a winding stayre,
She brought me to a goodly chambre of astate,
Whar the noble Countess of Surrey in a chaire,
Sate honorably, to whom dyd repayre
Of ladyes a bevy, with all dewe reverence,
Syt downe fayre ladyes, and do your diligence.

Come fërth gentilwoman, I pray you, she said,
I have contrived for you a goodly worke,
And who can work best nowe shall be assayed.

With that the tappettes and carpettes were layde,
Wheron these ladyes softely myght rest,
The sampler to sowe on, the laces to embroyde,
To weave in the stole some were full prest,
With slaies, with tavel, with hedelles wel drest,
The frame was brought forth, with his weaning pin ;
God give them good speed their work to begin.

Some to embroider, put them in prease,
Well gydyng their glotten to keep straight their silke ;
Some pyrlyng of golde, their worke to encrease,
With fingers small, and handes as white as mylke,
With reche me that skayne of tewly sylke,
And wynde me that botoume of such an hewe,
Greene, red, tawney, whyte, purple, and blewe.

Of broken workes wrought many a goodly thing,
In castyng, in turnyng, in florishing of flowres,
With burres rowgh, and buttens surffyllyng,
In nedell worke, raysyng byrdes in bowres,
With vertue enbased all tynes and howres.”

Skelton then offers his complimentary praises to several ladies, supposed to be of the party. In these he enumerates all the virtues, both personal and mental, which adorn our fair countrywomen at the present day; to whom we recommend the perusal of the whole poem: merely making our extract from the address to Lady Myrriall Howarde.

“ Compare you, I may, to Cidippes the mayde,
That of Acontius, when she found the byll
In her bosome, lorde howe she was afrayde,
The ruddy shamefastnesse in her vysage fyll,
Which manor of abasshemente became her not yll,
Ryght so, madame, the roses redde of hewe,
With lillyes whyte your beautie doth renewe.”

In this review of the poetry of that day, we must not forget Howard, the gallant Earl of Surry, who perished on the block in 1546, and whose poems may probably have found their way into our heroine's library: especially when we recollect the great intimacy that subsisted between the Norfolk and the Seymour families, notwithstanding the political jealousy between Howard and the Earl of Hertford, brother to Sir Thomas Seymour, husband of the Queen dowager, Katharine Parr, with whom Lady Jane was on terms of the greatest friendship almost from her infancy; and that Surry was a friend to the reformation. We may add also that the fair Geraldine of Surry's devotion was daughter of the Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of

Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset ; consequently she was cousin-german to Lady Jane.

Upon the whole, Surry's poetry was more likely to catch a youthful female fancy than any of the other before mentioned poets, whether we consider it as amatory or religious ; on both of which subjects it affords some fine specimens, deserving the perusal of our fair readers. Yet we must not neglect to mention Sir Thomas Wyat, the friend of Surry, and father of that Sir Thomas who afterwards raised an insurrection in Kent in favour of Jane's claims, as generally supposed, though Wyat himself assigned other reasons. The elder Sir Thomas, indeed, was not on good terms with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's grandfather, whom he accused of having injured him in the king's favour.

Nor was Lady Jane deficient of works written even by her own ancestors, or rather relatives ; for Anthony Widville, Earl of Rivers, brother in law of Edward IV., was as much distinguished for his literary talents as for his skill in politics and gallantry in war. He translated " The Dietes and Sayinges of the Philosophers," the " Moral Proverbs of Christian of Pyse," several other things printed by Caxton, and even composed a little elegy the night before his execution, already mentioned.

The books of Erasmus also, no doubt, formed part of her library, as they were in vogue amongst the pro-

testants, or reformists; for which they were afterwards declared heretical by Mary.

Music may yet be considered as in its infancy: melodies were very uncouth and unmeaning; and harmony was more artificial than beautiful, with parts multiplied from six to six and thirty. Indeed it was then scarcely supposed that melody was fit for any thing but psalmody; and though the chants of the church were the foundation of all musical composition, yet the ear was taught to be satisfied, provided the general harmony was pleasing.

Burney observes, that in the Virginal books of that period, we find no attempts at invention, in point of air or melody; and he elsewhere states, that Sir Thomas Wyatt, cotemporary with Henry VIII., and father of that Sir Thomas, whose rebellion hastened the fate of our heroine, was the first who introduced Italian numbers into English versification. Yet Lady Jane is said to have been not only a fine singer, but also to have been an expert musician.

In fact, it is positively stated, by cotemporary writers, that she not only played admirably on various musical instruments, but accompanied them with a voice exquisitely sweet in itself, and assisted by all the graces that art could then bestow. We have not been able, however, to ascertain the name of her musical instructor.

It does not appear that painting or drawing made

any part of Lady Jane's studies, or of the ladies of her time; yet the reign of Henry may be considered as the era of the establishment of the arts: and there are still extant several curious paintings of that period, when Holbein flourished; first induced too to visit England under the patronage of the Earl of Surry, besides being a favourite of the monarch.

She had enough, however, of occupation and amusement, in addition to her learned studies, in needlework, in which her execution was exquisite; in confectionary, then an important portion of ladylike household duty; in the acquirement of some knowledge in physic and surgery; and perhaps in spinning, which certainly was then taught in the nunneries.

Some young ladies then also amused themselves with mewing sparrow hawks and merlins; but the great and important employment, at stated times, was in the charitable doles distributed by the Lady Bountiful of each parish or manor, the poors' rates being then unknown.

Lady Jane's principles in regard to the reformed religion are generally believed to have been acquired, in some degree, from Harding, her father's chaplain; but we rather suppose that she was indebted for her pure faith to Aylmer. Indeed a short review of Harding's life will demonstrate that to him she could owe but little. Harding was educated at Winchester,

and at New College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow ; and was afterwards appointed, by Henry VIII. Hebrew Professor of that university. His biographer says, that, as his religion probably kept pace with the king's, so being consequently half reformed at Henry's death, no sooner did Edward ascend the throne, than Harding became a very good protestant. It was after this that he became finally settled as chaplain at Bradgate : but on the accession of Mary, he immediately saw his error, and became a confirmed papist.

From her girlish days, Lady Jane was permitted, by her fond, yet oversevere parents, to mix with a few of the intimate friends of the family. Among these was the Dowager Lady Latymer, better known as Queen Katharine Parr. She was daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, who it appears left to her and her sister the sum of £800 each for their fortunes : but if their brother were to die, so as to make them co-heiresses, then the £1600 was to go to the Abbey of Clairvaux, to purchase copes and vestments.

Katharine had a classical education, and was celebrated for learning and good sense. After the death of her first husband, Lord Latymer, she appears to have been about the court ; where, or else in her intercourse with the Dorset and Dudley families, then very intimate, she saw and loved, as we shall in a future page have occasion to show, the Lord Seymour of Sudley, lord high admiral of England, and brother of

the Duke of Somerset. This attachment, however, was set at nought, for Seymour was then married; and she shortly afterwards gained the heart of Henry VIII., being married to him about the 10th of July, 1543, and two days afterwards proclaimed queen, at Hampton Court.

Strype, in his memorials, relates a curious anecdote of this lady. He says that he met with a passage concerning her, in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in the possession of a friend, but written by an uncertain hand, which showed the greatness of her mind, and the quickness of her wit, whilst she was but a child. The anecdote relates that some person, professing to be skilled in astrology, cast her nativity, and told her that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the stars and planets in her house; which she took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would say, that her hands were ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles.

Let not our fair readers suppose they can find in this anecdote any support to the silly system of fortune-telling, or nativity casting, practised by the roguish and the ignorant at the present day. Let them recollect how many hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands of females were born in England on the same day, and with the same astrological aspects of the stars; to every one of whom, of course, the same pre-

diction might have been applied: yet to one only could it possibly prove true.

Fuller, in his *Church History*, describes her as “one of great piety, beauty, and discretion.” He adds, that “next to the Bible, she studied the king’s disposition, observing him to her utmost: and need she had of a nimble soul, to attend at all times on his humour, whose fury had now got the addition of forwardness thereunto. She was rather nurse than wife unto him, who was more decayed by sickness and intemperance than old age.”



SECTION III.

Parliamentary Settlement of the Succession—War with France—Royal Campaign and Letters—Scottish Royal Family—Further Royal Letters—Court Society—Death of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk—Papal Intolerance—Dangers of Queen Katherine Parr—Demise of Henry VIII.—His Will—Succession to the Crown—Accession of Edward VI. and Letters from his Sisters—Lady Jane visits the Queen Dowager—Courtship and Marriage of the Lord High Admiral with the Queen—His political Intrigues and Maxims—Plan to marry Lady Jane to Edward—Undutiful Conduct of the Lady Mary—Political Advancement of the Marquess of Dorset—Interesting Interview of Roger Ascham with the Lady Jane—Various Letters—Lady Jane's epistolary Correspondence with the Reforming Divines—Dorset elevated to a Dukedom—Dudley also—Lady Jane at Court—Transactions there—Courtly Sketches—Political Disputes, and Fall of Somerset—Lady Jane's Visit to Lady Mary—Religious Disputes—Northumberland's ambitious Views, &c. &c.

In January this year (1544) the king met his parliament, the very first act of which was concerning the succession; beginning with a recital of a former one on the same subject, and now confirming it, and settling the crown upon Mary, in case of the death of Edward, and the king's demise during his journey to France, but with limitations similar to those which appear in his last will.

That this was all agreeable to his own express wish

and desire, cannot be doubted; indeed Lord Herbert of Cherbury, after speaking of the king's favours granted to Queen Katharine Parr and her relatives, adds, "All which yet seemed nothing to him unless he parted in good terms with his parliament: for he accounted it his most loyal spouse; and not without reason, since there was nothing I know desired by him, which they performed not."

At this period Henry was at war with France; and the siege of Boulogne, then an important post, was an object next to his heart. Sieges are carried on rather more briskly in modern days, even when kings are not present; it may therefore be amusing if we insert a fragment of an original letter from Henry, during these operations, to his consort;—

"——— * And not lyke to be recouert by the Frensh or Spayne, as we trust not, with God's grace, but that the castell and towne shall sortly folow the same trade for as thys daye, whych is the xij^h daye of Septeber, we begyne thre bateryse and haue iij mynyns goyng by syd won whych hath done hys execution in scalyng and tezyng off won of theyre grettest bulwarkes. No more to yow at thys tyme, swethart, both for lacke of tyme and grett occupation of bysynes, sayyng we pray yow to gyff in our name our harte blessinge to all our chyldren, and recoñmendacyons to our cousin Margett"

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Coll. E. iv. 56.

(Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen Dowager of Scotland, by Archibald, Earl of Angus, her second husband) “and the rest of the ladies and gentyllwomen, and to our counsell allso. Wrytten by the hand of yur lovyng howsband.

“ HENRY REX.”

This Lady Margaret was, however, the king's niece, and not his cousin as he familiarly calls her; and respecting her we may here observe that an important negotiation now took place, which in its probable consequences, had it fully succeeded, might have had considerable influence in regard to the subsequent claims set up by the friends of Lady Jane to the English succession, as it might have removed one antecedent rival out of the line of prior succession; yet it must be acknowledged, that it would also have raised additional obstacles from the probable preference to be given by Henry himself to the issue of his elder sister, before that of his younger, Mary, from whom Lady Jane derived her title or claim in blood.

The political fact to which we allude was an “*Indentur of covenants**,” agreed upon between King Henry VIII. and Matthew, Earl of Lenox, by which not only were certain specified towns in Scotland to have been delivered into the king's hands, but he was also to have got possession of the young Queen of

* Brit. Mus. Ayscough's Cat. No. 4149. 4.

Scots, certainly the next in succession after his own issue, she being his own grand-niece, as daughter of James V., son of Henry's sister, Margaret, by James IV. of Scotland; another stipulation of this agreement was in regard to an event which really did take place some time afterwards, the marriage of his niece Margaret Douglas (daughter of the Dowager Queen Margaret by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, whom she married after the demise of her royal husband) to this Earl of Lenox.

The Lady Margaret appears to have been a great favourite with Henry, whose court, under the auspices of Queen Katharine Parr, was now becoming a more agreeable residence for ladies than it had been. Katharine was indeed a very amiable woman, and manifested both her good sense and good disposition in the attention which she bestowed upon her daughters-in-law, Mary and Elizabeth, and her son-in-law, Edward. In fact, it is evident, from various circumstances, that there was much family intercourse at court, where the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset were frequent visitors, bringing with them from Bradgate their youthful and already accomplished daughter, Lady Jane, who, though only seven years of age, was frequently set up as a pattern for imitation, and for emulation, to the infant heir apparent.

We have seen it stated, indeed, that they were educated together; but that was only true in regard

to those family visits, and not to the extent described by Rowe in his tragedy, where, speaking of Edward's subsequent death, we find the following passage :

Nor. All desolate and drown'd in flowing tears,
By Edward's bed the pious princess sits,
And ev'ry sigh is wing'd with pray'rs so potent
As strive with heav'n to save her dying lord.

Duch. From the first early days of infant life
A gentle band of friendship grew betwixt 'em,
And, while our royal uncle Henry reign'd,
As brother and as sister bred together,
Beneath one common parent's care they lived.

Mor. A wond'rous sympathy of soul conspired
To form the sacred union.

The Brandons, or Suffolk family also, of course, formed part of this family circle. The duke indeed seems to have now lived at court ; for in the Lansdown MSS. we find a letter written by him, and dated from the palace at Westminster, which was then, generally, the royal residence, and the scene of royal domesticity. In these social scenes the Princess Mary seldom mixed ; but the young Elizabeth was a favourite visitor, and her affection for her royal step-mother may be estimated by the following epistle :

“ Although your highmys letters be most joyfull to me in absens, yet consyderainge what paine hit ys to you to write, your grace beinge so greet with childe, and so sikely, your comendacyon was ynough in my lordes letter. I much rejoyce at your helthe with the

wel likinge of the countiy, with my humbel thanks that your grace wisshed me with you^r til I ware wery of that countrye highnys were like to be combered if I shulde not depart tyl I were beinge with you, although hit were in the worst soile in the w your presence wolde make it pleasant. I can not reprove my not doinge your comendacyons in his letter for he did hit: a he had not, yet I will not coplaine on him for that he shulte giue me knolege frome time to time how his busy childe d I were at his birth no doubt I wolde se him beaten for the put you to Master Denny, and my lady with him prayeth most intirely for your grace prainge the Almyghty God to sen lucky deliverance. And my mystres wisseth no most humbel thanks for her comendacyons leysor this last day of July*."

The peculiar attention and duty shown by Elizabeth to the queen, her mother-in-law, may also be drawn from another epistle in Italian, written evidently from St. James's, on the same day and month, but not in the same year.

"L'inimica fortuna invidiosa d'ogni bene, et voluitrice de cose humane privo per un anno intero della lltima^{ma} presentia vostra, et non es anchora contenta di questo, un altra volta me spoglio del mede bene:

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Otho. C. x. 231.

la qual cosa a me saria intollerabile, s'io non pensassi be . . . di goderla*. Et in questo mio exilio certamente conosto la cler . . . sua altezza hauer hauuto cura et sollicitudine della sanita mi . . . quanto fatto haurebbe la maiesta del Re. Per la qual cosa n . . . sono tenuta de servirla ma etiando da figlial amore reuer . . . intendendo vostra Ill^{ma} altezza non me hauer domentice . . . Volta che alla maiesta del Re scritto: il che a me ape . . . quella prieghare. Pero insino a qua non hebbi ardire d . . . per il che al presente nostra eccell^{ma} altezza humil^f ñete . . . gando sempre sua dolce benedittione, simil^f ñete prieg . . . il signore Iddio gli mandi successo boniss^{mo} acquist . . . ouì inimici, accioche piu piesto possa uostra a . . . ddio che conserui sua Illus^{ma} altezza alla cui gr . . . basciando le mani m^o offero et raccoñ . . . Jacobo alli 31 di Julio*.”

* In the Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 1419, is a MS. containing inventories of the royal wardrobes of this period; in which are lists of the furniture and “stuff” supplied to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth; affording a most curious view of the domestic management of those days. In the Lady Mary’s list, are many articles of tapestry, accurately measured and as accurately described as to design and colours, with notices whether lined or not, and whether new or old. Many of these designs are of a strange nature; such as a king riding in a chariot in a blue gown with stars; a woman in a cloud with the world in her hand; a woman hanging in a cloud in a yellow gown, between a fire and a city; one riding upon a white horse hanging in a cloud of fire; hawking and hunting, with naked boys at the corners; a woman in childbed, with some children and divers women in her chamber. Then come “Hanginges of Verdomes;” one piece “with a hole in it;” one cloth of estate of crimson cloth of gold; another of rich cloth of gold tissue; an

This family union was in some measure broken in upon by the death of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in 1545, which has been curiously remarked on by Lloyd in his *State Worthies*, who previously says of him, that having overcome a German braggodocio at a tilting match at Paris, in his youth, "the lords looked not on him with more envious than the ladies with gracious eyes; who darted more glances in love than the others did spears in anger against him." In short, he described him as "the compleat courtier in

old chair of iron, covered with crimson cloth of gold; three cushions of cloth of gold; Turkey carpets, some of them very small; "six cubborde carpetts;" "sparvers" of crimson damask, lined with buckram (these seem to be bed-furniture); three "counterpoyntes" of crimson damask, fringed with white fustian; some checked ditto; some lined with canvas, and some quilted; eight pair of Holland sheets; seven pillow beeres; two beds of down, with fustian ticks; eight feather beds, with their bolsters of "old bryssell tykes;" six pillows of down. All these are accurately numbered and measured, down to altar-fronts, cart canvas, cloth sacks, and box-lids, or cart covers, &c.

It is curious to remark that the Lady Mary was only allowed one altar-front, embroidered with lilies and fringed with silk; whilst to the Lady Elizabeth were granted six altar-fronts of cloth of gold, ornamented with raised crimson velvet, yellow satin, and with the Trinity embroidered upon one; the salutation of the Virgin and two apostles upon another, garnished with pearls and lined with silk; another with the passion of Christ upon the cross; another with the assumption of our Lady, &c.; together with sundry vestments of cloth of gold, evidently intended for chapel service. To Elizabeth also were allotted sundry pieces of tapestry of "verdomes," with carpets of frame-work, also Turkey carpets; "sparvers" of cloth of gold and crimson velvet; chairs of cloth of gold; numerous cushions of the same materials, &c.

whom beauty and valour, Mars and Venus, are joyned in one happy constitution, which awes and allures beholders."

Lloyd then describes him as being the "first that durst fasten the royal standard in the sides of Bulleign; and the last that advanced the St. George in the middle of it, both taking and governing it. The greatest thing that ever that age saw was, if we believe *Sleidan*, the delivery of the keys of Bulleign by a French governor to the Duke of Suffolk's hand; and the greatest thing King Henry VIII. saw, he saith, was the delivery of those keys, by the duke, into his hand; inso-much that despairing of greater, the one died that year, the other the next."

Another circumstance, unfriendly to family tranquillity, now took place, under the influence of popish intolerance, through which Queen Katharine herself, the friend of Jane, had very nearly been lost to her young protégée; for a very short time previous to her royal husband's death, Bishop Gardener had got articles drawn up against her, and actually signed by the king's own hand: nay, the orders were even prepared to send her to the Tower, where, as Fuller observes, "had she been sent, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, without doubt she had followed the way of his former wives in that place." She escaped that danger, however, by an extraordinary circumstance; for the chancellor, Wriothesly, having got the paper, deposited it in his

bosom, from whence it fell, and was picked up by one of the queen's servants, who gave it to his mistress.

Katharine being soon after dangerously ill, she made her submission to the king, and obtained his pardon; not, indeed, for any crimes she had been guilty of, but, as Fuller says, "she would sometimes presume to discourse with him about points of religion, defending the protestant tenets by scripture and reason: and sometimes would hold up the king very close hard at it. This displeased him, who loved looseness and liberty in his clothes, arguments, and actions; and was quickly observed by Gardiner and others, who were the queen's enemies."

The reformed religion met with a shock this year, 1546, in the death of Luther; but a more important event to England was the death of Henry, in 1547, and the succession of his infant son. To the politics of that day, the appointment of the Duke of Somerset to the protectorate, or regency, &c.; we have no occasion to make further allusion than to record that the Marquess of Dorset and his family still attended as court visitors, the marquess himself being one of the court politicians, or partizans, of that period. Even then he was so much in favour, not only with the young monarch, but also with Somerset, the protector, that he was appointed to serve the office of lord high constable of England at the coronation; an office which, however, he only held during the space of three days.

Some notice of Henry's testamentary disposition of the crown becomes indeed matter of course, because on it much of the succeeding events must hinge; we may observe, therefore, that the royal will was dated on the 30th of December, 1546; but it is said by Fuller to have been drawn up two years before that, before he went to Boulogne, and then only fairly written out, without any other alteration than the expunging of Gardener's name from the list of executors.

By this will, the limitation of descent failing Edward and his issue, or the king's own possible issue by Queen Katharine Parr, or by any other wife whom he might afterwards marry, was precisely appointed to fall on Mary, but upon the express condition that he should not marry "without the assent and consent of the privy counsellors, and others appointed by us to our dearest son Prince Edward aforesaid," &c. &c.

Failing Mary and her issue, the limitation was to Elizabeth, under the same conditions in respect to marriage; and failing her, and her issue, then to the Lady Frances, mother of Lady Jane; and failing her and her issue, then to the Lady Eleanor, a younger sister of Lady Frances.

In these limitations, the claim of Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and the eldest of Henry's sisters, was completely set aside; but in some measure acknowledged afterwards, when in default of these heirs

in remainder, and their issue, it was directed that “the said imperial crown, and other the premises, shall wholly remain, and come to the next rightfull heires:” a regulation which took place after the death of Elizabeth, to the exclusion of the Brandon branch, by the accession of James VI. of Scotland, and 1st of England, and great grandson of Margaret: in fact, the rightful heir in all respects of blood.

As the non-fulfilment of the king’s regulations, in regard to marriage, would have set Mary aside, the remainder, in that case, was to go to Elizabeth, as if Mary had been dead; then Elizabeth failing in the conditions, the remainder was to the Lady Frances, as if Elizabeth were dead; with like remainder to “the next rightful heirs.”

That Margaret of Scotland and her issue should have thus been previously set aside in the succession, is attributed by Fuller, in his Church History, to its probable cause: for he says, “Great indeed (when this will was first made) was the antipathy, which for the present possessed him against the Scotch, with whom then he was in actual warre; though at other times, when in good humour, very courteous to his kindred of that extraction. For, most sure it is, that when Margaret Douglas, his sister’s daughter, was married to Math., Earl of Lennox, he publicly professed, that in case his own issue failed, he should be

right glad if some of her body should succeed to the crown, as it came to passe.”

During the minority of Edward, the Lady Mary interfered on several points of public business, to which the lords of the council strongly objected: but she wrote them back a remonstrance* in most spirited terms. Her manner of address to the young monarch was, however, of a more humble nature.

Lady Mary to King Edward VI. †

“ My dewtye moste humbly remembred to your majestye, it may plesse the same to be advertized that I have ben often mynded to have wryten to your hyghnes before this tyme; which to doe, my olde seased rewmatycke head wolde by no means suffer me, nor presentlie scarse wylle; the wante of whiche helthe, as it hathe hithertoe made me not able to wryte unto your majestie, so the occasion of my sayde sycknes hathe and dothe, to my great gryef, chefflye stay me waighytyng upon your hyghnes, as bothe dewtye and nature dothe constrainne and move me; moste humblye beseechyng your majestye not onlye to pardone me

* Brit. Mus. Lansd. Coll. No. 1236, 17, 28.

† Brit. Mus. Ayscough's Coll. No. 4160.

for that I do not wayte upon the same at this present accordynglye, but also to accepte thys myne unfayned excuse. For God, I take to recorde ther can be no greater comfort to mee in thys worlde then to see your majestye, whiche I wyll not fayle to do, God willing, when I convenyentlye maye, accordyng to my bounden dewtye.

“ And sins I have also ben thus bolde to trouble your majestye with theyse rude lettres, I wolde (the same beyng not offended) in most humbel wyse beseeche you to geve me leve to be a sewtor unto your hyghnes, for my poore serveunts, that it may stonde with your pleashure at this my moste humble sewte to graunt theym libertye to serve me as they have done. Whiche I humbly crave even for my verie necessities sake, feelyng suche wante of theyr service in the matter of my poore howse, that the same hithertoe dothe not a little troubel me. And althoughe I have not before thys tyme (accordyng to my bounden dewtye) wryten unto your majestye for the lybertye of my sayde servauntes, I shall moste humbly beseeche your hyghnes to impute the only cause and impedymente therof to be the wante and lacke of helthe. Your majestyes favour and goodnes shew'd to me in this my humble sewte shall not only muche quiet me, and discharge me of the care of howse matters, but also enforce me, as one moste bounden, to praye for

the prosperous preservation of your moste royall estate
long in virtue and honour to contynew.

From my pore howse of Honesdown,
iiiith of Aprill. Your majestyes moste—

To the kynges most excellent
majestye.”

Let us compare this with an original address from
the Princess Elizabeth, of the same date.

Lady Elizabeth to King Edward VI.

“ Like as a shipman in stormy weather plukes
down the sailes, carryinge for better winde ; so did I,
most noble kinge, in my unfortunate chance a thurs-
day, plucke downe the hie sailes of my joy and com-
fort, and doe truste one daye, that as troblesome
waves have repulsed me backwarde, so a gentil winde
will bringe me forwarde to my haven. Two chiefe oc-
casyons moved me muche, and grived me gretly : the
one for that I douted your majesties helthe ; the
other, because for al my longe carringe, I wente with-
out that I came for. Of the firste I am releved in a
parte, bothe that I understonde of your helthe, and
also that yur majesties loginge is far from my lord
marquesses chamber. Of my other grief I am not

cased; but the best is that whatsoever other folkes wyll suspect, I intende not to feare your graces good wyl, wiche as I know that I never disarved to fainte, so I truste wyl styl stike by me. For if your graces advise, that I sholde retourne, (whos wyl is a comendement) had not bine, I wolde not have made the halfe of my waye the ende of my journeye.

“ And this, as one desyrous to hire of your majestyis helthe, thoghe unfortunate to se it, I shal praye God for ever to preserve you.

“ From Hatfelde this present sunday,

Your majestyes humble sister to
commaundement,

ELIZABETH.

“ To the kinge's most excellent
majestye.”

In this letter there certainly is much of the formality of that day; but that Elizabeth could write well and elegantly is proved by a well composed justification of her conduct, respecting certain opinions of the council, addressed to the protector; and in which she alludes to the necessity of a proclamation to restrain evil reports of the king's sisters*.

Though female society was in some measure broke up at court, except upon mere formal visits of ceremony, yet Lady Jane, in these her earliest years, was

* Lansdown MSS. 1236, 72.

not debarred of fashionable intercourse, at times when she could be permitted to relax her studies at Bradgate; for we find her, even though so young, a visitor with the widowed queen, with whom she always was a favourite. In fact, these visits had most of the advantages of a residence in a palace, since Queen Katharine, though now only queen dowager, seems to have held an establishment almost equal to a royal court, as far as respected her power and authority upon her own lands: which we have reason to believe were similar to those in a grant made by King Henry 8, under the great seal, dated the 15th of July, an^o 32, to Queen Katharine Howard, of diverse priviledges and immunities to be enjoyed by her within the hundreds and lands assigned for her jointure or dower. These powers and grants were very extensive—to have all goods and chattels forfeited—all fines and amerciaments for escapes, &c.—return of all writs and executions thereof—no officer of the crown to enter her fee—to have fines for trespasses, service, concordance, &c.—year, day, and wast—all forfeitures for murders—power to levy without estreat from exchequer—to have warff and stray, deodands, &c.—to have view of frankpledge, and l^reriffs' torn—to have fines certain, sheriffs' folke, &c.—no sheriff to meddle with sheriffs' torn, &c. or to enter to execute any thing—to be exempt from pourveyance—power to appoint a clerk of market—to have free warren, and none to hunt under

penalty of £10—power to appoint a justice in eyre—to have all writs without fine—no steward, marshal, or coroner of the king's, to enter to exercise his office—all her possessions to be exempt from all admiralty jurisdiction—power to appoint coroners—power to appoint admirals (that is, not sea admirals, but admirals of the coast, similar to the vice admiralty court in the Commons)—and finally to enjoy all liberties that any queen of England ever did use.

Queen Katharine at this time resided partly at Chelsea, which was part of her jointure. She lived in the then modern Manor House, which had been built by her deceased lord and sovereign: it stood between Winchester House and that well known, but more modern place of entertainment, called *Don Saltero's*; and was pulled down many years ago, when Cheyne Walk was erected.

At this period of Katharine's residence at Chelsea, she was upon terms of courtship with the Lord Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudley, lord high admiral of England, and brother of the Duke of Somerset; during which she wrote him an amatory epistle, still extant, recording a private piece of history, that we recollect not to have seen elsewhere noticed—for Katharine actually was in love with Sudley during and before her marriage with the deceased monarch.

In short, she states expressly that she loved him during her widowhood, if not during even her first

marriage with the Lord Latimer: a circumstance, however, not to be positively laid to her charge; as, being bred up in the north, in rural seclusion from the court, she probably never saw Sudley until her marriage with Latimer opened the way to court. We shall also hope, virtuous and pious as she certainly was, that it was not even until the days of first widowhood that she had looked on Seymour with eyes of affection, though she must often have seen him whilst in the bonds of a first marriage. In the epistle she says:

“ My Lord,

“ I send you my moost humble and harty comendations, beying desyrours to knowe how ye haue done syns I saw you. I prey yow be not offended with me in that I send soner to yow then I sayd I wold. For my promys was but ones in a fourtened. Howbeyt the tyme ys well abrevyated by what means I know not, except the weakes be shorter at Chelsey than in other places. My lord, your brother, hathe dyfferred answer consernyng such requestes as I made to hym tyll his comyng hether, wyche, he saythe, schal be immediatly after the term. Thys ys not hys fyrst promys I have receyved of hys comyng, and yet unperfourmed. I thynke my ladye hathe tawght hym that lesson; for yt ys hyr coustome to promys many comynges to her frendes, and to perfourme none. I trust in greater matters sche ys more cyrcomspect.

And thus, my lord, I make my ende, byddyng you mooste hartely farewell, wyschyng you the good I wold myselfe. From Chelsey.

“ I wold not haue yow to thynke that thys myne onest good wyll towards yow to procede of any sodayne motyon or passyon. For as truly as God ys God my mynd was fully bent the other tyme I was at lybertye, to marye yew before any man I knewe. Howbeyt God withstode my wyll theryn moost vehemently for a tyme, and through hys grace and goodnes made that possible wyche semeth to me most impossible, that was made me to renownce utterly myne owne wyll, and to folow hys wyll most wyllingly. Yt wer to long to wryte all the process of thys matter. Yf I lyve, I schal declare yt to yow myself. I can say nothyng but as my Lady of Suffolke sayeth, God ys a marvelous man.

“ By her that ys yowrs to serve and obey,
duryng her lyf,

KATERYN THE QUEENE. K. P.”

Though Sudley courted and married Katharine, yet it has been said that his first thoughts were of a more ambitious kind than even an union with a royal dowager : and that the Princess Elizabeth, and a chance of a crown, were his most potent wishes. Elizabeth was, however, still too young for marriage ; and some have gone so far as to assert that the lord admiral married

the dowager, merely to assist him in his plans for securing a future union with that princess.

In his courtship with Katharine he certainly experienced no difficulties; yet he seems, perhaps before this explicit declaration on her part, to have made some solicitations for friendly assistance, to the Princess Mary; for, in the Burleigh papers, in the Lansdown collection, there is a letter from her to him, in which she declines interference respecting his suit to her mother in law.

The policy of the lord admiral was perhaps much swayed by certain maxims, which (in No. 1523 of the Ayscough Coll. in the B. M.) are stated to have been the leading proverbs of the Seymours in the reign of Edward VI. These are as follow :

“ Affection shall leed me to court, but I'll take care y^t interest keeps me there.

“ In the throng of courtiers, there are but three steps to raise a man to observation : 1. some peculiar sufficiency ; 2. some particular exploit ; 3. an especial freind.

“ Sufficiency and meritt are neglected thinges, when not befrended.

“ Princes are too reserved to be taken with y^e very first appearances of worth, unlesse recommended by tried judgments : its fitt, as well as coñon, y^t y^e have their counsellors for p̄sons as well as thinges.

“ The Earle of Surry and other nobility were imprisoned for eating flesh in Lent.

“ A secreat and unobserved contempt of y^e law, as a close undermining of authoritie, weh must be either its selfe in indulging nothing, or be nothing in allowing all.

“ Libertye knows no restraunte, no limitt, when winked at.

“ In counsell is stabilitye: things will have their first or second agitation: if y^{ey} be not tossed about upon the argument of counsell, y^{ey} will be tossed upon the waves of fortune.

“ Aske an inferior man’s advice in private, that he may be free; and a superior’s in public, that he may be respectfull.

“ Being y^e protectour, he seldom discovered his own inclinations, least it byassed his counsell.

“ Braue men never dye.

“ Worth begetts in weake and base minds, envy; in the magnanimous, emulation; in posterity, renowne.

“ A good name is y^e embalming of y^e vertuous to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity.”

To these we may add some further maxims attributed to the Parrs.

“ If you doe y^e comon sort of people nineteen cour-

tesys together, yet you may lose their loue, if you goe but over the style before them.

“ The comōn rule of favourites is, to bring in all their relations about them, to adorne and supporte them: but a wall y^t hath a firme bottom needes no buttresse; and y^t wch wants it is often rather thrust down, than uphelde by it.

“ There is no such flatterer as a man’s selfe; and there is no suche remedy ag^t flattery of a man’s selfe, as the liberty of a freind: counsell is of two sorts; y^e one concerning mañers, y^e other concerninge businesse.

“ A well managed boldnesse is the vertue of monarchicall courts; and a discreet submission, y^t of a republican.”

After the nuptials, the new married couple left Chelsea to reside at Hanworth; where our heroine soon after joined them.

The visit of Lady Jane to the queen dowager was not likely to interfere much with her learned studies, as modern visits generally do; for the queen was herself fond of literature: in fact, a royal blue stocking; for, as Walpole observes*, she was not only learned, but a patroness of learning, interceding for, and saving the university of Cambridge, when an act had passed to throw all colleges into the king’s disposal. She was also an authoress, as Walpole records no less than six

* Royal Authors.

distinct treatises written by her, mostly prayers and meditations on religious subjects, besides several interesting epistolary specimens, which do her great credit. One of those letters indeed seems not to speak very highly in favour of her judgment; for it contains a request to the Lady MARY, entreating her to permit the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, elsewhere noticed, to be published in that princess's name.

It appears strange that Katharine would have been ignorant of that lady's dislike of every thing connected with the Reformation; but perhaps she believed Mary to be sincere in the "submissions" which she had previously made to the will and creed of her father in religious affairs. Nay, she seems even to have gone a little further with Mary on this subject, previously; having actually prevailed upon her to begin a translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase herself, at least upon the Gospel of St. John. But Strype says, that Mary being cast into sickness, partly by over-much study in this work, after she had made some progress therein, she left the doing of the rest to Dr. Mallet, her chaplain: on which Walpole observes, that she would not so easily have been cast into sickness, had she been employed on the legends of Saint Teresa, or Saint Katharine of Sienna.

Hanworth, in Middlesex, where Lady Jane was now a visitor, was a small royal seat, which Henry VIII.

took great delight in, and made the scene of his pleasures; and towards the end of his reign he settled it in dower upon Queen Katharine Parr: and the royal party was soon increased by the Princess Elizabeth, whose education was committed to her care. In this, however, she could have had very little comfort, for Seymour, as we have already observed, even before his marriage with the queen dowager, is said to have been anxious to marry Elizabeth: indeed, it was even said, that Katharine's death was *hastened* for the same purpose.

Yet it is a very extraordinary thing, if we are to credit the evidence of Katharine Ashley and others, on the lord admiral's impeachment, that the queen was actually a principal party in the familiarities which he was accused of having taken with that princess. This woman asserted, that Seymour and the queen came into the princess's bedchamber, on two different mornings, "and then thei tytled my Lady Elizabeth in the bed"—"another tyme at Hanworth, in the garden, he wrated with her, and cut her gown in an hundred peeces, beyng black cloth; and when she came up, this examinate chid with her, and hir grace answered she could not do withall, for the queen held her while the lord admyrall cut it." In short, it seems to have been a vulgar game of romps in the garden; for the princess was not then more than fourteen years of age.

It is true, indeed, that Katharine was not happy with this her third husband, who often treated her with neglect, especially in regard to the celebration of the offices of religion; respecting which she was very strict, having prayers every day, and sermons often in her mansion: at all of which Sudley rudely refused to attend.

If her marriage was not happy, neither was it of long continuance; for she died early in September, 1548, during which period Lady Jane, then in her eleventh year, was still a visitor.

Young as Lady Jane was at this period, yet her hand was already sought after; in particular by the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, for his son, Lord Hertford. This is evident from a declaration, still extant, of the Marquess of Northampton in which he expressly says, that the Lord Admiral told him in his own gallery, in London, that there would be much ado for my Lady Jane, the Lord Marquess of Dorset's daughter; and that the Lord Protector and the Duchess of Somerset would do what they could to obtain her for young Hertford, who, as it will appear, afterwards married her younger sister.

Sudley said, however, that they should not prevail therein; for the marquess had given her up wholly to him upon certain covenants that were between them. Northampton then asked Sudley what he would do, if the protector were to induce the marquess to come

into his own views; when the Lord Admiral answered that he would never consent thereto.

To enter at large into all the motives of Sudley upon this subject, and which eventually led him to assist in the downfall and execution of his own brother, the Lord Protector, would exceed both our plan and limits. It is sufficient to observe that Sudley wished to rise on his fall, as great jealousies and fears existed on both sides. Somerset wished to marry the young monarch to his own daughter; and Sudley attempted to counteract this by a deep laid plan for uniting him with the Lady Jane, of whom he then publicly said, that young as she was, “she was as handsome a lady as any in England!”

Whether the Lord Admiral might not have changed this project, or perhaps dropped it entirely on the death of the queen dowager, in the hope of then becoming the husband of the young Elizabeth, does not exactly appear; but it is evident that, at first, he gave up all thoughts of personal superintendence of her, meaning also to break up his own household, which was on a very extensive scale: for very soon after his widowhood he became once more an obsequious attendant at the court, and actually wrote to the Marquess of Dorset to receive his daughter back; yet his mind seems speedily to have changed upon that point, and on the 17th of September, he sent him the following epistle:—

“ After my most hartye commend unto your good lordship. wherby my last lettres unto the same, wrytten in a tyme when partelye with the quene’s highness deathe, I was so amased, that I had small regarde eyther to my self, or my doings; and partelye then thinking that my greete losse must presently haue constrained me to haue broken upp and dissolved my hole house, I offred unto your lordship to send my Lady Jane unto you, whensoever you wolde sende for her, as to him whome I thought wolde be most tendre on hir. Forasmuch as sithens being bothe better advised of my self, and having more depelye disgested wherunto my power wolde extend; I fynde indede that with God’s helpe, I shall right wel be hable to contynewe my house together, without dyminishing any greate parte thereof. And therfore puttyng my hole affyance and trust in God, haue begonne of newe to establish my household, when shal remayne not onelye the gentlewomen of the quene’s highnes privey chamber, but also the maids which wayted at larg, and other women being about her grace in her lief tyme, with a hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen, contynuallye abeyding in house together; savyng that now presentlye certaine of the mayds and gentlemen haue desyred to have license for a moneth, or such a thing, to see theyr freinds; and then immediatlye returne hither againe. And therefore doultyng least your lordship might thynk any unkyndnes, that I sholde

by my said lettres take occasion to rydd me of your doughter so soone after the quene's death; for the prof both of my hartye affection towards youe, and good will towards her, I mynd now to keepe her, untill I next speak with your lordshipp; whiche should haue bin within these thre or foure dayes, if it had not bin that I must repayr unto the corte, aswel to helpe certaine of the quene's poore servants, with soome of the things now fallen by hir death, as also for my owne affayrs; oneles I shal be advertysed from your lordship of your expresse mynd to the contrarye. My ladye, my mother, shall and wooll, I doubte not, be as deare unto hir, as thoughe she weare hir owne doughter; and for my owne parte, I shall contynewe her haulf father and more; and all that are in my house shal be as diligente about her, as your self would wyshe accordynglye."

To this pressing epistle, the marquess, two days afterwards, answered as follows, from his mansion in Leicestershire.

" My moste hartie comendations unto yur good lordship not forgotten. When it hath plesed yow by your most gentle lettres, to offre me thabode of my doughter at your lordeshypes house, I do as wel acknowledge your most frendly affection towards me and hyr herin, as also rendre unto yow most deservid

thanks for the same. Nevertheless considering the state of my doughter and hyr tendre yeres, wherein she shal hardlie rule hyrsylfe as yet without a guide, lest she sholde, for lacke of a bridle tak to moche the heed, and conceave such opynyon of hyrsylfe, that all such good behauiour as she heretofore hath lerned, by the quene's and your most holson instructions, shuld either altogether be quenched in hyr, or at the leste moche diminished, I shall, in most hartie wise require your lordeshippe, to commytt hyr to the governance of hyr mother, by whom for the feare and duetie she owithe hyr, she shall most easilye be rulid and framid towards vertue, which I wyshe aboue all thynges to be most plentiful in hyr ; and although your lordshypes good mynd, concernyng hyr honest and godlie education ys so greate, that myn can be no more ; yet waying that yow be destitute of suche one as shulde correcte hyr as a mystres, and monyshe hyr as a mother, I perswade my sylfe that yow wyl think the eye and oversight of my wyfe shalbe in thys respect most necessarie. My meaning herin ys not to withdrawe anie parte of my promise to yow for hyr bestowing ; for I assure your lordeshyp, I intend, God wylling, to use your discrete advise and consente in that behalfe, and no lesse then myn own : onely I seeke in thes hyr yonge yeres, wherein she nowe standeth, either to make or marre (as the common saing ys), thadressing of hyr mynd to humilytye, sobrenes, and obedience. Wher-

forc lookyng upon that fatherlie affection which yow beare hyr, my truste ys that your lordeshyp waying the premises, wylle be content to charge hyr mother with hyr, whose wakyng eye in respecting hyr demeanour, shalbe, I hope, no lesse than yow as a frend, and I as a father wuld wyshe. And thus wysching your lordeshyp a perfight ryddaunce of all unquietness and grieve of mynd, I leave anie further to trouble your lordeshyp. From my house at Brodgate, the 19th of September,

Your lordeshype's to the best of

my power,

HENRY DORSETT.

“To my verie good Lorde
Admirall: give this.”

It is evident from the whole tenor of this epistle, that the marquess was anxious to get her back, but without offending the Lord Admiral; not only from general policy, but also from the close relationship by marriage—a degree of affinity that is shown by this correspondence to have been more strictly attended to in those days than at present.

Henry VIII. was grand uncle to Lady Jane; of course, Queen Katharine Parr was her grand aunt by marriage. This accounts for Lady Jane having been entrusted to her care; for she was the queen's visitor: yet it is curious to observe that the Lord Ad-

miral, merely from having married her grand aunt by marriage, was actually considered by the Dorset family as her uncle (grand uncle rather, if at all), and that he was in that sense called "brother" by the marchioness; although, by this species of matrimonial affinity, he was more properly *her* uncle; being the husband of her aunt by marriage.

That such, however, was the case is evident, from a letter of the marchioness, which accompanied that of her husband already inserted; and to the following purport:

"Although, good brother, I might be well encoragid to minstre such counsaile unto you as I haue in store, for that yt heth plesed you, not onlye so to take in worthe that I wrytt in my Ladie of Suffolke's lettre, but also to require me to haue in rediness such good advyses, as I shall thinke conveynent against our nexte metyng; yet consyderynge howe unhable I am to doe that herto belongithe, I had rather leaue withe that praise I have gotten at your hand, then by sekyng more, to lose that I haue alredie wune. And wheras of, a frindlye and brotherlie good wyll you wish to haue Jane my doughter continuyng still in your house, I giue yow most hertie thanks for your gentle offer, trustyng, nevertheles, that, for the good opinion you haue in your sister, you will be content to charge hir with hir, who promyseth you, not onlye to be redye at

all tymes to accompt for the orderyng of your deere neise, but also to use your counsaile and advise on the bestowing of hir, whensower it shal happen. Wherfor, my good brother, my request shalbe, that I may haue the oversight of hir with your good wyll, and therby I shal haue good occasion to thinke that you do trust me in such wise, as is convenient that a sister to be trusted of so loving a brother. And thus my most hertye comendations not omytted, I wyshe the holle delyverans of your gryefe and contynuanee of your lordshippes helthe. From Broadgate, 19^h of this September.

Your lowyng sister and
assured frende

FRANCYS DORSETT.

“To the right Honorable and
my very goode Lorde, my
Lord Admirall.”

In consequence of these representations, Lady Jane was permitted by the Lord Admiral to return to Leicestershire, under the care of Mr. Rowse, steward or comptroller of Sudley's courtly household; yet she was reluctantly parted with, and Mr. John Harrington, who also accompanied her, declared that the maids remained at Hanworth in expectation of her speedy return. Indeed, soon after Lady Jane left Hanworth, Lord Sudley seems to have used the most strenuous measures to get her back again. In a paper written

by the Marquess of Dorset, apparently in vindication of himself after the trial of the Lord Admiral, he expresses his firm determination not to have let her return; but Sudley himself went in person to Dorset-house, in Grey's-place, near the Temple, "and was so earnest with him in persuasion, that he colde not resist him. Emongs the which persuasions, one was, that he wold mary hir to the king's majestie." So earnest, indeed, was Sudley to attain this object, that he employed a Sir William Sherington to make interest with the marchioness to the same effect; in which he also succeeded.

It is evident that, in consequence of this, Lady Jane did return to Hanworth; for the marquess states expressly, that on her return there, "as it wer for an earnest peny of the favor that he wold shewe unto him," Sudley sent to him £500, as part of £2000 which he had promised to lend to the marquess, and for which he refused any bond, saying that Lady Jane should be the pledge!

In another communication of the Marquess of Dorset, which appears to have been addressed to the Duke of Somerset, we find the first mention of any project, on his part, as to the intended marriage with the young Earl of Hertford; a match too which must have been in serious contemplation before the fall of Sudley, notwithstanding his royal projects. It is—"Item, for the maryage of your graces sune to be had with my doghter

Jane, I thynk hyt not met to be wrytyn, but I shall at all tymes avouche my sayng."

This was certainly cautious on the part of Dorset; perhaps, indeed, he was playing a double part, or at least endeavouring to steer a middle course in the tortuous politics of that day; for it is evident, from his own letter, and that of his wife, that they were both under promise to Sudley to a certain extent; probably both anxious to match their daughter with her royal *second* cousin. Indeed it was said that this match was thought a very possible event by many, and also greatly desired by those who wished the prosperity and establishment of the reformation, to which Lady Jane was known to be already extremely devoted; not only from her course of education at home, but also the conversation of the queen dowager, and the lessons of Roger Ascham, then tutor to the Princess Elizabeth.

But this union would have met with many political enemies about the court; besides, a proposed marriage of the youthful monarch, in 1549, was likely to have raised another bar to the ambitious hopes of the friends of Lady Jane: for though on the 10th of January in that year, positive instructions were given to Lord Russel, the Lord Privy Seal, to Lord Pagett of Beaudesert, to Sir William Petre, Knt., Secretary of State, and Sir John Mason, Knt., to reject the offer made of the daughter of the King of France, yet the same commissioners were instructed, whilst treating for and con-

cluding a peace, and contracting for the surrender of Boulogne, to make a demand to have the youthful Mary of Scotland delivered up to him for a wife.

Even in the reign of Edward VI. negotiations were still going on to provide a husband for the Lady Mary; on, apparently, a new arrangement with the emperor, in regard to the Prince of Portugal. This is manifest from instructions, yet extant*, to Sir William Pagett, then ambassador at Brussels.

Perhaps, indeed, as Mary was still troublesome in her refusal to conform to the established religion, the young monarch may have been anxious to get her out of the kingdom. That he had many fruitless negotiations with her is evident.

In Edward's own journal it is stated, that "the Lady Mary, after long communication was content to come to Lees" (in Essex), "to the Lord Chancellors, and then to Hunsdon; but she utterly denied to come to the court, or Oking, at that time." Fuller, in his *Church History*, accounts for this on the principle, that "she loved to deale with the king her brother *eminus* by letters, but in no wise *cominus* by discourse. Besides, she hated coming to the court, suspecting some harsh usage to her person, and jealous of being put into restraint."

We have already alluded to the charges brought against the Lord Admiral, in regard to his "affecting

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 297, p. 63.

the kingdom," as it was quaintly called; and it is only further necessary here to state, that on the 14th of March, 1549, he was executed for high treason*; long previous to which Lady Jane had retired from Hanworth to her paternal mansion. Hanworth then changed its master, or reverted to the crown; and Chelsea Manor was granted to the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, Lady Jane's future father-in-law.

In the early part of 1550, it appears that Mary, notwithstanding the solemnity of her former promises and submission to her father's will and opinions, had

* In the Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 249, there is an article called, "The Sayings of Thomas, Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, in sundry his conferences and communications with me John Fowler (together with an account of the money which the said Lord Admirall sent in private, at different times to K. Edw. VI. and how he disposed of it)." Some of the entries in this MS. are curious.

"Item, my lord admirall gaue me, a litle before he married the quene, a cap with agglette and a brouche."

"Item, to his ma^{tie} to give to John Cupples at sundre tymes when he tawght his grace to play on the vergynalls.....1 li."

"Item, to garrat of the gard for a booke wch he gaue to the kinge at St. James.....x li."

"Item, to my lord privie seale's trompet at Hamp. Court, when his hygues triumphed in the garden at iii sundry tymesx li."

"Item, at Grenewiche to certeyn tumblers that played; his grace lokyng out to them.....x li."

"Item, to a trompet which somtyme was my Lord Bray's servaunt; for playenge on the Thames agaynst Grenewichexx s."

been tampering with the emperor to procure his interference on those points with the king her brother; for the imperial ambassador, about this period, made a formal proposal to the youthful monarch to grant her a licence, or dispensation under the privy seal, "to continue in that fashion of worships which she now usithe*." This, however, was refused, and the ambassador was requested by the privy council to advise her "for the future to hear mass only in her closet, and not to keepe, as it were, an open church for all the servants and neighbours to resorte thither to masse, and so to offend openly God, and the king's lawes, incurring thereby great daunger, and inducing a maner of scisme in this commonwealth."

The Marquess of Dorset being this year appointed Justice Itinerant of all the king's forests, he was less about the court, and his family more fixed at Bradgate, where, in the month of August, all the family and their friends were assembled; and it was in that month that Roger Ascham, being about to set out for Germany attached to a diplomatic mission, went down to Leicestershire to see his friends and patrons, particularly the Lady Jane, to whom he states himself to have been exceedingly much beholden.

On his arrival at Bradgate, he found that the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, with all the ladies and gentlemen of the household, were hunting in the park; but

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 523.

understanding that his fair patroness was in her chamber, he requested admission, and there he found her reading the *Phædon* of Plato in Greek, and with as much delight as some gentlemen of that day would have read a merry tale in Boccacio. Having paid his respects, and made every respectful inquiry, according to the custom of those times, he asked the youthful student why she would lose such pastime, as was then going on in the park? She replied, with a smile, "I wisse all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure means." Ascham then asked, "And how came you, madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure? and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?"

"I will tell you," replied Lady Jane, "and tell you a troth, which, perchance, you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster; for, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world: or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs,

and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure disordered, that I think myself in hell till the time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him : and when I am called from him, I fall on weeping ; because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me ; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more ; that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me."

Ascham, describing this scene, adds, that he remembered the conversation gladly, both because it was so worthy of memory, and because it was the last talk that ever he had with, and the last time that ever he saw, that noble and worthy lady.

In such a school of parental severity, blessed with pious sentiments, and cheered by the promises of light and life in the Gospel, then newly re-opened to mankind, as well as by the precepts of philosophy, Lady Jane could not fail to acquire both resignation and fortitude. It is curious, however, to observe, that although her parents treated her like a child, yet those learned and pious divines, Ascham, Bullinger, Sturmius, and others, behaved towards her as towards a woman of good sense and consummate learning.

An interesting proof of this appears in a letter written to her, in Latin, by Ascham, early in 1552, whilst on his diplomatic tour.

“ In this my long peregrination, most illustrious lady, I have travelled far; have visited the greatest cities; and have made the most diligent observations in my power upon the manners of nations, their institutions, laws, religion, and regulations; nevertheless, in such variety, there is nothing that has raised in me greater admiration than what I found in regard to yourself during the last summer, to see one so young and lovely, even in the absence of her learned preceptor, in the noble hall of her family, at the very moment when all her friends and relatives were enjoying hunting and field sports:—to find, I repeat, oh, all ye gods! so divine a maid diligently perusing the divine Phædon of Plato; in this more happy, it may be believed, than in her noble and royal lineage.

“ Go on thus, oh best adorned virgin, to the honour of thy country, the delight of thy parents, thy own glory, the praise of thy preceptor, the comfort of thy relatives and acquaintances, and the admiration of all. Oh, happy Elmer! to have such a scholar, and to be her preceptor. I congratulate both you who teach, and she who learns.

“ These are the words of John Sturmius to myself, as my reward for teaching the most illustrious Lady

Elizabeth; but to you two I can repeat them with even more truth; to you two I concede this felicity, even though I should have to lament want of success, where I had expected to reap the sweetest fruits from my labour.

“ But let me restrain the sharpness of my grief, which prudence makes it necessary I should conceal even to myself. This much I may say, that I have no fault to find with the Lady Elizabeth, whom I have always found the best of ladies, nor indeed with the Lady Mary; but if ever I shall have the happiness to meet my friend Elmer, then I shall repose in his bosom my sorrows abundantly.

“ Two things I repeat to thee, my good Elmer—for I know that thou wilt see this letter—that by your persuasion and entreaty the Lady Jane Grey, as early as she can conveniently, may write to me in Greek; which she has already promised to do. I have even written lately to John Sturmius, mentioning this promise. Pray let your letter and hers fly together to us. The distance is great; but John Hales will take care that it shall reach me. If she even were to write to Sturmius himself in Greek; neither you nor she shall have cause to repent your labour.

“ The other request is, my good Elmer, that you would exert yourself so that we might conjointly preserve this mode of life amongst us. How freely, how sweetly, and philosophically then should we live!

Why should we, my good Elmer, less enjoy all these good things, which Cicero, at the conclusion of his third book, *De Finibus*, describes as the only rational mode of life? Nothing in any tongue, nothing in any times, in human memory, either past or present, from which something may not be drawn to sweeten life!

“As to the news here, most illustrious lady, I know not what to write. That which is written of stupid things, must itself be stupid: and, as Cicero complained of his own times, there is little to amuse, or that can be embellished. Besides, at present, all places and persons are occupied with rumours of wars and commotions, which, for the most part, are either mere fabrications, or founded upon no authority; so that any thing respecting continental politics would neither be interesting nor useful to you.

“The general Council of Trent is to sit on the first of May: Cardinal Pole, it is asserted, is to be the president. Besides there are the tumults this year in Africa; their preparations for a war against the Turks: and then the great expectations of the march of the emperor into Hungary, of which, though no soldier, I shall, God willing, be a companion. Why need I write to you of the siege of Magdeburg, and how the Duke of Mecklenburgh has been taken; or of that commotion which so universally, at this moment, afflicts the miserable Saxony? To write of all these things, I have neither leisure, nor would it be

safe: but on my return, which I hope is not far distant, it shall be my great happiness to relate all these things to you in person.

“ Thy kindness to me, oh most noble Jane Grey, was always most grateful to me when present with you; but it is ten times more so during this long absence. To your noble parents, I wish length of happiness; to you, a daily victory in letters and in virtue; to thy sister Katharine, that she may resemble thee; and to Elmer, I wish every good that he may wish to Ascham.

“ Further, dearest lady, if I were not afraid to load thee with the weight of my light salutations, I would ask thee, in my name, to salute Elizabeth Astley, who, as well as her brother John, I believe to be of my best friends; and whom I believe to be like that brother in all integrity and sweetness of manners. Salute, I pray thee, my cousin Mary Laten; and my wife Alice, of whom I think oftener than I can now express. Salute also that worthy young man Garret, and John Haddon.

“ Farewell, most noble lady in Christ.

“ Augustæ,

R. A.

‘18th January, 1551.’”

Thus courted by the reformed teachers, it is not unlikely that they considered her as a future supporter of the true interests of Christianity, in the cha-

racter of Queen of England, by marriage with the young monarch. That such an idea had gone abroad, cannot be doubted; nor was it an improbable speculation, when we reflect on the similarity of their ages and dispositions, and their near relationship. The politics of the court did not, it is true, turn upon this point, but upon a matrimonial union of England and Scotland.

It must be observed here, that the demand which Edward had made to have the youthful Scottish Mary delivered up to him for a wife had not yet been successful; but on the 20th of May, 1551, negotiations to that effect were renewed; not, however, it appears, with any great hope of success: for the Marquess of Northampton, the Bishop of Ely, and the other commissioners sent for that purpose to Paris, had directions that, provided the French king would not deliver up his daughter in law, the young queen and dauphiness, then they should at once conclude a marriage with Elizabeth, the French princess.

Though travelling was neither very much in fashion, nor very convenient in England, yet Lady Jane appears to have enjoyed some of its advantages in a frequent change of residence; in particular, though we cannot trace for what purpose, her family seems to have been living at Cambridge for some time during this year. The fact is stated in a letter from Ascham to Mr. Edward Raven; but at what season of the

year it took place is uncertain. We can only perceive that in June she was resident at Bradgate; from whence is dated an epistle written to Bullinger at Zurich, by Johannes ab Ulmeis*.

In the same month she also wrote her first epistle in Latin to Henry Bullinger, one of the most eminent of the reformed divines; in which she mentions her having begun the study of the Hebrew language. This epistle manifests the utmost elegance of expression, and of turn of sentiment, astonishing, indeed, in so young a person: her two succeeding epistles to the same divine being also composed in a pure and unaffected style, informing him that she was pursuing her Hebraic studies in the manner which he had pointed out to her. She addresses him as if he were her preceptor, with wonderful respect and submission, in a fine strain of modesty, and displaying a very singular zeal for the true religion.

Though Bullinger had never been in England, yet he was evidently well known to her family; for we find it stated in his biography by Simlerus, that in the early part of Henry's reign, in fact the year immediately after Lady Jane's birth, that amiable and learned divine, at his residence at Zurich, had shown great hospitality to many English nobles, clergy, and gentry, who had been forced to leave their native country for conscience sake; amongst whom, in parti-

* *Epistolæ ab Eccl. Helvet. Reformatoribus*, p. 291.

cular, was John Hopper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and finally a martyr in Mary's reign, who fled to Switzerland, accompanied by his wife; a species of travelling baggage which the English clergy had then just began to provide themselves with.

These reformed fugitives there consulted Bullinger about the principal doctrines of Christianity, and the proper rites and ceremonies for a Christian church. They likewise urged him to write to Henry VIII. when that monarch first threw off the papal authority; on which occasion he addressed to the royal reformer his two well known books on protestantism. Bullinger also, in 1550, dedicated two decades of sermons to Edward VI. and wrote many letters to the principal nobility on religious subjects: so that Lady Jane, and the reformers in general, considered him as a main support and assistance to the good cause.

In all these affairs the Marquess of Dorset was an active coadjutor; but he was also obliged to mix in the politics of the time, especially in the affairs of Scotland, being appointed about this time warden of the northern marches: in which, however, he was soon after superseded by Dudley, Earl of Warwick; an event which does not appear to have produced any coolness between these two courtiers, as they were both soon afterwards elevated to dukedoms: Warwick gaining the title of Northumberland, and Dorset that of Suffolk, which was now extinct in the male line of

the Brandon family, by the deaths of Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, in June and July, the title being thus revived, as it were, in their sister Lady Frances, wife of Dorset, and mother of Lady Jane.

It was on the 11th of October, 1551, that this rise in the peerage took place, the young monarch then residing at Hampton Court; from whence, early in November, he removed to Westminster.

Lady Jane had now, for some time, been resident in the metropolis, or in attendance at the court, at Greenwich, and made her first appearance in public on occasion of a visit from Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager of Scotland. Her majesty had recently arrived at Portsmouth from France, on her way to her daughter's dominions, the unhappy Mary, and wrote to the king for licence to pass through England; on which she received an invitation to the metropolis, that was instantly accepted.

Conducted by a deputation from the court, and attended with all royal honours, the Scottish queen arrived at Hampton Court, where she made some stay; and on the 2d of November she proceeded by water for London, landing at Paul's Wharf, whence she rode on horseback in great state, accompanied by many of the English nobility of both sexes, besides her own Scottish train, to the palace of the Bishop of London; by whom not only was she entertained with all hos-

pitality, but receiving also from the city of London, by the hands of the chamberlain, a large supply of all kinds of food, stated by Stowe, in his annals, to have been “ beefes, muttons, veales, swans, and other kind of poultry meates, with bread, fuell, wine, beere, waxe,” &c.

The further proceedings, as detailed by Stowe, and in which Lady Jane bore a part, will serve to illustrate the courtly manners of the day.

The first interview of the Scottish dowager with the youthful monarch was at Westminster, on the 4th of November; on which occasion she rode to Whitehall in her chariot, accompanied by Lady Margaret Douglass, cousin to the king, and Countess of Lennox, the Duchess of Richmond, the Duchess of Suffolk, mother of Lady Jane, who attended in her train, the Duchess of Northumberland, with many other ladies of the first rank, both in England and Scotland, forming a procession of great length and splendour.

On her arrival at Whitehall, a guard of honour was drawn up on each side of the court; and she was received within the court gate by the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, who led her to the upper end of the hall, where stood the king, before whom the Earl of Warwick held the sword of state.

The dowager instantly knelt down; but Edward raised and kissed her: then leading her by the hand,

he introduced her to her own chamber of presence, and next to another chamber of presence, called the queen's, where he kissed all the Scottish ladies, and soon after retired, until dinner-time, when "she dined on the queene's side with the king, the king's service and hers comming both together, the king's on the right hand, the queene's on the left hand, shee sitting by the king, apart by his cloth of estate."

None of the court dined with the royal pair; but Lady Jane retired with her mother and all the other ladies of both kingdoms, to the queen's great chamber, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided for them.

This august solemnity must have taken place at a very early hour; for after dinner the king showed to his royal guest his galleries, gardens, &c. and yet it was only four o'clock when he handed her into the hall, where he again kissed her; and she returned to her apartments at the bishop's palace.

Further public honours were conferred upon her two days afterwards, in which Lady Jane participated, when she set off for Scotland, riding from St. Paul's through Cheapside, &c. towards Bishopsgate, accompanied by a long train of nobility, who had assembled for the purpose of escorting her as far as Shoreditch church. The Duchess of Suffolk, as a near relation of royalty, added much splendour to the pageant; but the principal part of the show was made by the Duke

of Northumberland, who had a train of one hundred horsemen drawn up in Cheapside, of whom forty were gentlemen clad in black velvet, guarded with white, with velvet hats, and white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. Next to these stood one hundred and twenty of the suite of the Earl of Pembroke, on horseback, with black javelins, hats, and feathers. To these were added one hundred of the lord treasurer's gentlemen and yeomen. Besides which there were three ranks of horsemen, forming a cortege, from the cross in Cheapside to the end of Birchin Lane. The whole of this procession accompanied the queen to Shoreditch church, when they took leave, and returned to their respective mansions; the dowager pursuing her route, preceded by harbingers, and provided with all accommodation at the royal charges.

But the attendance of Lady Jane in the metropolis, together with her family, must have been rather from their connexion with the court, than from her father's duties as a peer of parliament, or in compliance with fashion; for it seems that the temptations to the nobility and gentry at this period to make a long sojourn in the metropolis could not have been very great. In fact, in the year 1551, it was entered in the youthful monarch's own hand-writing*, amongst "ccirtein pointes of waighty matters to be immediately concluded on by my counsell, 18 Januarie, 1551^o," that

* Brit. Mus. Cottonian, Vesp. F. xiii. 171.

there was necessity for “ taking some order to the Londoners, that they that come to our parliament may not be holly discouragid, empovrished, or wried w^t their attendaunce, wch order can not be well taken (as me thinketh) w^t out punishing th’ offendours.”

The court attendants, however, must have been less annoyed than the parliament by the existing metropolitan incivility, the royal residence, being then so seldom in town, if at all; for the Tower was only now considered as a royal residence, according to court etiquette, for a few days after the monarch’s accession; whilst St. James’s, then recently made a royal residence, was not in London, but in Westminster, a city which may then be said to have been out of the metropolis. Indeed, we may suppose that the court itself would have been treated with but little more ceremony than the parliament, as it was not then fenced in with such august distinctions from common life as at present.

Henry VIII. was merely called “ highness,” and those who spoke to, or of him, only used the term “ grace.” Even to Edward VI. the term “ serene” was applied, as appears from a highly complimentary letter, addressed to him in Latin*, by Henry Grey, then Duke of Suffolk, and father to Lady Jane. It is true, that in this epistle we find the word “ majestas” several times applied; but it begins with “ rex

* Brit. Mus. Cottonian, Vesp. F. xiii. 174.

benignissime;" whilst the term "celsitudo," or highness, is frequently introduced. It may also be remarked, that "grace" was not confined to royalty, as there is now a letter in the British Museum, from Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, Lady Jane's grandfather, to Cardinal Wolsey, beginning, "Please it, your grace," and indorsed, "To my Lord Legate's good grace."

There could not, indeed, then have been any thing very tempting in a court residence, except to the ambitious; for Aubrey declares, that even until the reign of James I. the court was ill-mannered, and the courtiers unpolished; nay, that even then, the queen herself could scarcely escape insult in passing the king's apartment.

Comfort or convenience of all kinds were as little attended to as decency and decorum; for at Henry the Eighth's royal table, the "kinge's boarde" was literally a board laid on tressels, with wooden forms set round. Yet at the royal dinners great formality was observed as to places; though politeness had not hitherto proceeded so far as to place husbands below their wives, unless "if they bee of the bloode rialle, the kinge may cõmaunde them as yt plessithe hym."

At dinner also, no person was allowed to stand on the "kyngge's carpette," which was not very large; the other part of the floor being strewed with rushes. Whilst the duty of the pages was to clean windows, to

light fires, and to see the walls swept before hangings were put up.

As for the elegance of the repast, much cannot be said; for the cook's wages for dressing it, each day, as appears from a MS. in the Lansdown collection, was only two shillings and four-pence; a sum not very munificent, even allowing for the deterioration of money since that period.

In the evenings at court, the king then living, as it were, in public, it was the custom to serve him with spice and wine; spice plates being also brought for the king's relations; after which the cellarer attended with the pots with wine. Then, after many ceremonies, the company were to retire; "and after voides done, the kinge to goe on to his with draught, and all other estatys to goe unto y^r own chambers, or wher y^t plessithe them."

Supper was always over at eight o'clock; "and an esquire of the body to be redie in the kinge's chamber to receive, and to make for all night the kinge's cupboorde. That done, the esquire and gentleman huissier to beare yt to the king's privy chamber, or wherever else yt may be comaunded."

Of the delicacy of nocturnal repose and retirement, an idea may be drawn from the observation of a writer of that day, who speaks of it as a kind of wonder—"Also and the kynge and the quene lie togedere, I sawe never no person lie in the same chambere, savynge

in Kynge Henry dais, the Lord Say wth his chamberlyne; but he was removid in a schort sessone of hys logginge. Nowe of y^e chambre I have some sessones sene that at the dore w^t out the kynge's side there have layne squyers for the body; and in lykewise at the dore, by the quene's side, gentlewomen."

The moral honesty of some about the court may be estimated by an order of Henry VIII.—

"Item*, the king's pleasur and street commaundement is, that the gentlemen huishiers making lodging from tyme to tyme within the king's courte, shall see and note substantially, what lockes, keyes, and other such implementes, as before mentioned, thei do finde in the chambers where thei make lodginge, giving charge unto such persons, as thei do put and lodge in the same, that every parcell therof be saufely left in the chamber and redeliverid with the key of the chamber, to the keepir of the house, or other person deputed to receive the same at their departing, without embestlyng, purloynynge, or carying away any part therof upon payne of imprisonment, and makynge restitution to the partie, or double the valew of the thing so embseyselyd or purloyned."

If this paints their morals, let the following, from the same source, delineate their economy :

* Ant. Rep. ii. 187.

“ Item, the gentleman huishier ought to forbidde, that no maner man do set any dishe upon the king’s bed, for feare of hurting the king’s riche counterpoyntes that lye therupon. And that the said huishier take good heede, that no man wipe, or rubbe their handes upon none arras of the king’s, wherby thei may be hurted, in the chamber wher the king is specially, and in all other.”

It is true, that with much of this ceremony and in-decorum Lady Jane did not mix; for the Suffolk family now lived, when attending on the court, at their own mansion in Suffolk-place, only going to court occasionally; and it was from this place that the family proceeded when, on New Year’s-day, 1552, the Duchess of Suffolk presented to King Edward in a purse of silver and gold, knit, £40 in half-sovereigns, (left with the king’s majesty), and received in return three gilt bowls with covers.

It was about this time that Lady Jane wrote her second letter to Bullinger, who was then much befriended both by the Suffolk and Northumberland families; between whom a personal intimacy seems now to have existed. These friendly attentions to that worthy reformer were not confined to pecuniary favours, but extended to the exercise of influence at home for his friends, as appears from a letter in the Lansdown MSS., from Johannes ab Ulmeis to the Duke of

Northumberland, to obtain from his grace a scholarship in King's College for a friend of Bullinger's.

Whilst speaking of this German correspondence, we may notice also a curious letter of this date, in the same collection, from Roger Ascham, at Spire, where he was with the king's ambassadors, addressed to Mr. Secretary Cecill, inquiring whether he might sometimes talk with the Pope's Nuncio's men, without injuring the cause of reformation by gossiping with the servants of the "Lady in scarlet!"

Of the patriotic justice and regard for the constitution, which now filled the breast of the youthful monarch, a very correct idea may be drawn from a paper in his own hand-writing, headed, "Ceirtein pointes of waighty matters to be immediatly concluded on by my counsell. 18 Janueiri, 1551*," now in the British Museum, in which is the following entry, "The matter for the Duke of Somerset and his confederates to be considered as aparteineth to our surety and quietness of our realme, that by there punishment (and execution according to the lawes) example may be shewed to others." In this memorandum, in the original, the words between brackets are an interlineation, evidently written with a different pen, and marking after-thought and consideration†.

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Coll. Vesp. F. xiii. 171.

† The state of justice at this period in England may be drawn from a very curious "Kalendar or note of all the prisoneres

In fact, it is extraordinary to observe with what steadiness this royal youth pursued his course through all the intricacies of court politics, intrigue, and the prevalence of every bad passion. Somerset was his own uncle; yet such was his submission to law and justice, or at least, to what appeared to him to be such, that he suffered him to fall under the axe of the executioner—a shorter way of getting rid of an obnoxious political rival, by dividing his head from his body, than the modern method of merely dividing against him! A minister may survive a minority, and more firmly re-establish himself; but, according to the old method, a monarch must have restored a discarded

names that be remayninge within the Towere at this presente, being the 11th daye of februaire, an^r R. Edw. VI. sexto.”

From this it appears that the Duke of Norfolk had been confined *ten* years; Edward Courtenay had been there *twelve* years; several clergymen had been there during some years.

Two persons, Denys Fludde and John Davy, are stated to have been “attainted for felonie, and had a bill signed for their p^rdon, and steyde by the Lord Ryche, then Lorde Chancellor.”

“Rycharde Tracey, who hathe bene there ix monethes and more, for wrytynge a letter to Mr. Kelwaye.”

“William Phyllips, John Sawyer, who hathe bene xii monethes and more, for suspicion of castinge of letters.”

“Robert Allen, who hathe bene there xii monethes and more, for matters of astronomic, and suspicion of calculation.”

“Christopher Dunne, for suspicion of imbecillynge of certeyn iewells and money of the Duches of Somersette.”

“Myles Moore for writinge of a supplication to the kinges hyghnes.”

favourite to life, before he could restore him to his councils !

Whether the modern mode is not an improvement, in spite of the clamour against bribery and corruption, and rotten boroughs, and back-stairs influence, we leave it to our readers to judge.

But to return to Edward; it seems as if his principal political difficulties arose from his own family ; for a very short time before this, he had nearly been involved in a war with the emperor, on account of his sister Mary, and her determination to abide by the papal forms of divine worship.

This affair of the mass was occasioned by information of a plan, on the part of Charles V., to fit out some ships at Antwerp, and to transport the Lady Mary, either by violence or by stealth, out of England to his own Flemish dominions. In concert with this plan, several of her attendants had already gone over, and it was expected that war would be waged against England in her name ; and, as Haywood relates, upon these dangers or fears, the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Petre were sent to the Lady Mary, and they, after some conference, brought her to the young king at Westminster, she passing some time, on her way, at Lees and Hunsdon. When arrived at court, the council declared unto her how long the king had permitted her the use of the mass ; and perceiving by her letters

how unmovable she was, he was resolved no longer to endure it, unless she would put him in hopes of some conformity within a short time. To this she answered that her soul was God's, and, touching her faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made that the king intended not to constrain her faith, but solely to restrain the outward profession of it.

The king's health was so much shook by these contests, that he was advised to make a progress through part of the kingdom in order to divert his mind. Such was the motive urged to persuade him to the tour; but it is said that his ministers wished to try it as an experiment to remove the discontents of the people, and to influence the elections.

Whatever might have been the ostensible or real motives of this journey, it certainly took place in the course of the summer; of which absence of the court from town Lady Jane took advantage to pay a visit, of ceremony at least, if not of affection, to her cousin the Princess Mary, at her mansion of Newhall, in Essex*.

* This place is so connected with persons conspicuous in English history, as to deserve some slight topographical notice. Passing over its origin as part of the possessions of Waltham Abbey, until exchanged by the monks with Sir John de Shardlowe, in the reign of Edward III., for other lands; it first appears as a royal property, appertaining to Margaret of Anjou, from whom it fell to the crown during the civil contests of York and Lancaster, and was granted by Henry VII. to Boteler, Earl

During this visit an occurrence happened, which is stated by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, to have had considerable influence upon her future fate. She was asked by Lady Anne Wharton to take a ramble one afternoon; and their walk leading them past the Lady Mary's popish chapel, Lady Anne made a low curtesy to the host which was then lying on the altar. The young protestant did not understand this species of homage, and naturally asked if Lady Mary were in the chapel; to which Lady Anne answered, "No;" adding, that she had made her curtesy to him that made us all! "Why," replied the sprightly and intelligent girl, "how can he be there that made us all, and the baker made him?" Fox adds, that "this his answer comming to the Lady Marie's care, she did never love him after, as is credibly reported, but esteemed him as the rest of that christian profession."

This event certainly deserves notice, and shows that Lady Jane would have received but little favour from her royal cousin, in after times, even if she had not been placed, by the ambition of her family, in the

of Ormond, who first fortified the manor house, and made considerable additions to it. By marriage it came to Sir Thomas Boleyn, who exchanged it with his son-in-law Henry VIII., that monarch calling it Beaulieu, and often making it his residence. He assigned it to Mary. Elizabeth afterwards gave it to Ratcliffe, Earl of Suffolk; by whom it was sold to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In 1651, Oliver Cromwell purchased it for *five shillings!*

situation of an usurper; an act, however, as yet perhaps unthought of by the parties themselves.

The Duke of Northumberland's ambitious plans seemed at this period to have been far from maturity, yet it is a very curious fact, that they had found their way into public report, perhaps by the duke's own permission, in order to prepare the people for the proposed change in the succession. Some interesting anecdotes upon this subject are preserved in a MS. in the British Museum*, where it appears that a gossiping story had been sent by Sir William Stafford, from his seat at Rochford, in Essex, to the privy council, detailing the rambling expressions of a Mrs. Elizabeth Huggones, which he described as "unseemly sayenges, neither meet to be spoken, nor conseyled of any hearer."

This Mrs. Huggones, who had formerly been a servant to the Duchess Dowager of Somerset, seems to have spoken out very openly respecting the Duke of Somerset's death, as occasioned by the intrigues of the Duke of Northumberland, whom she considered as more worthy of the scaffold than her late master. Perhaps the good lady's heart was a little warmed, as the conversation is stated to have taken place at supper, for she was also accused by Sir William of having said that the young King Edward showed himself an unnatural nephew, and then wished that she had the

* Harl. Coll. No. 353.

jerking of him. Her tongue once set agoing, the jolly dame knew not where to stop, for she added, that Lord Guildford Dudley was to marry the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland (cousin to Lady Jane), and that the match was planned by the king himself; and then "with a stoute gesture," she cried, "Have at the crown with your leave!"

This was about the latter end of August; and so important did the story appear to the privy council, that the talkative dame actually underwent a formal examination on the 8th of September, before Sir Robert Bowes, Master of the Robes, and Sir Arthur Darcy, Lieutenant of the Tower, when, however, she denied great part of Stafford's story, declaring her great esteem for the Duke of Northumberland. "And, moreover, she being examyned of the laste article concernynge the marryage of the Lord Guilford Dudleye with the Erle of Cumberland's daughter, she deposeth that she heard it spoken in London (but by whom she nowe remembreth not), that the kinges ma^{tie}. had made such a marryage, and so she tould the firste nyghte that she came to Rochford to supper, showinge herself to be glad thereof, and so she thoughte that all the heareres were also glad at that marryage."

If Edward really did propose such a marriage, for it is not likely to have originated with Dudley himself, it may be considered as adding to the probability of his own attachment to Lady Jane, and perhaps his

purpose of raising her thus to the throne. This is evident, inasmuch as the marriage of Lord Guildford with Lady Jane's cousin, the Earl of Cumberland's daughter, would have been four steps further off from any chance of the succession, and would have rendered it necessary for the ambitious duke not only to set aside Mary and Elizabeth, but also the Duchess of Suffolk and her three daughters. Such a measure would have been by no means compatible with Northumberland's policy; nor could any plausible excuse have been found for it, unless he had extended the charge of illegitimacy to them also on the Brandon, or on the Dorset marriage.

But we are now approaching the most important period of the life of Lady Jane, and shall therefore conclude this section with the close of the year 1552; at which period she was still under the tuition of the pious Aylmer, improving daily in Christian simplicity and virtue, as in beauty and accomplishments.



SECTION IV.

Edward's last Illness—Northumberland's Plans—Antiquarian Anecdote of Bridewell—Family of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland—Political Opinions and popular Feelings—Correspondence with Cecil—Courtship of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford—Marriage—Courtly Ceremonies and Rejoicings—Family Consequences—Continental and Home Politics in Regard to the Protestant Religion—Mary's Claims and Expectations—Courtly Politics and Will of Edward, confirming the Succession upon Lady Jane—Claims of Margaret, Dowager of Scotland—Death of Edward VI.

IN the early part of the year 1553, the young and delicate Edward caught a violent cold, which grew rather worse than better; occasioned, as supposed, by injudicious medical treatment: so that in March, when the new parliament met, they were obliged to go to him at Whitehall, instead of his opening them personally at Westminster. They sat only a month, and having finished a few important things that were brought before them, were dissolved; leaving the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland as great in power as they could wish to be, with only one object for their wishes—that of preserving the high authority which they had gained*.

* It was during this last illness of the youthful monarch that Bridewell was granted for the accommodation of the poor; as

In the midst of this prosperity the still rapid decline of the king's health seemed, however, to threaten them with some sudden reverse of fortune; for which the penetration and sagacity of Northumberland suggested the plan of altering the succession to the throne: but

appears from an original letter in the Lansdown Coll. Brit. Mus. No. 3. 28. from the Bishop of London to Sir William Cecil, which begins, " Good Mr. Cecil, I muste be suter unto you, in our *M^r Christes* cause, I beseche you be good unto him. The matter is this, alas, he hathe byne twoo long abrode (as you do knowe) wythout lodginge in the stretes of London, bothe hungrye, naked, and colde. Now, thankes be unto Allmighty God, the citizens are wyllynge to refresh him, and to greete him bothe meete, drinke, clothyng, and fyrcinge, but alas, Syr, they lacke lodging for him, for in some one howse I dare saye they are faine to lodge the families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide large emptie howse of the kinge's majesties, called Bridewell, that would wonderfullie well serve to lodge Christe in iff he myght finde suche goode frendes in the courte to procure in his cause. Surelie I have suche a good opinion in the kinges majestie that yff Christe had suche faithfulle and trustie freindes that would hartely speake for him, he should undoubtedlie succede at the kinge's majestie's hands. Syr, I have promysed my brethren the citizens in this matter to move you, because I doe take you for one that feareth God, and woulde that Christe should lye no more abrode in the stretes. Ther is a rumor that one goth aboute to buy that howse of the kinge's majestie, in order to pull it downe. Yff ther be any suche thinge, for God's sake speake you in our master's name. I have wrytten unto Mr. Gates more at large yn this matter. I join you with him and all that love and looke for Christe's finall benediction at the latter daie. Iff Mr. Cheake is almost recouvid, God be blessed. Were he amongst you, I would suerlie make him in this business one of Christe's specyalle advocates, or rather one of his principall protectors, and suerlie I would not be sente away. And thus I wishe you in Christe, and well to far. From my howse

this he did not think it prudent to bring forward before certain measures should be taken for effectually securing the safety of his own family, by matching into that to which he meant to transfer the crown. Yet Northumberland had still a just foresight of the great hazards to which they must be exposed by so bold a measure; he, therefore, contrived to fortify both houses still more, by other advantageous matches, which, considering his then high and flourishing condition, were easily brought about.

In consonance with this, his three eldest sons were already married; so that his selection of a husband therefore for Lady Jane, fell of course upon his fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, who is described by Heylin, as having the least in him like to his father.

It must be allowed, that Rowe, in his tragedy of Lady Jane, explains the conduct both of Northumberland and Suffolk, upon principles more honourable to them than those of mere ambition, in the following scene:—

Nor. 'Tis all in vain; heav'n has required its pledge,
And he must die.

at Fulham, this presente Sondaie, beinge the xxix^t day of May,
1553.

Yrs in Christ,
Ric. London.

“ I pray you suffer the bearer
herof to talk ii or iii words
with you in this cause.”

Suf. Is there an honest heart
That loves our England does not mourn for Edward?
The genius of our isle is shook with sorrow,
Religion melts in ev'ry holy eye.

Nor. Ay, there, my lord, you touch our heaviest loss;
With him our holy faith is doom'd to suffer;
With him our church shall veil her sacred front,
Pride, ignorance, and rapine, shall return;
Blind bloody zeal and cruel priestly pow'r
Shall scourge the land for ten dark ages more.

Sir J. Is there no help in all the healing art,
No potent juice or drug, to save a life
So precious, and prevent a nation's fate?

Nor. What has been left untried that art could do?

The world, however, not even excluding their own partisans, did not implicitly believe the existence of such generous motives; much less could a liberal conception of their views be expected from their opponents and rivals.

In the rage of political enmity it was repeatedly asserted at that period that the Duke of Northumberland's grandfather had been a base born mechanic; but the fact is, that his family name was originally Sutton, and his ancestors Barons of Dudley; whence his grandfather, Sir John Dudley, took his name, being the second son of John, Lord Dudley, who was honoured with the order of the garter, during the wars of the Roses.

The eldest son of Sir John was the famous, by some called the *infamous*, Edmund Dudley, whose name is

generally linked with that of Empson in English history, during the reign of Henry VII. Edmund was born in 1462; was a privy counsellor at twenty-three, and throughout his life engaged in various offices about the court and person of the king.

Lord Bacon speaks of him as a person in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his prince, whom he served in promoting the filling of his coffers, under colour of the law, though with very little respect to the principles of equity and justice. Yet it is extraordinary that, notwithstanding the numerous charges against him in history, it is scarcely possible now to ascertain in what specific capacity he was enabled to fleece the public as generally stated; for there is no proof of his having held the offices of under-sheriff of London, of a puisne judge, or baron of the Exchequer, or attorney or solicitor-general, all of which have been supposed; it is only certain that he was one of the most distinguished lawyers of the day—a serjeant at law, Speaker of the House of Commons, and a privy counsellor.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount L'Isle, sister and co-heiress of John, Viscount L'Isle; by whom he had John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, born about 1502; seven years after which, Edmund lost his head, for Henry VII. was scarcely

dead, when he was sent to the Tower, the clamour of the people being so great, that this step was thought necessary to pacify them. On the 16th of July, 1509, Edmund was arraigned and found guilty of treason at Guildhall, before commissioners appointed for the purpose, being afterwards attainted in parliament in January, 1510; and on the 18th of August following, he was beheaded, much against the wishes of the king. But the whole of the attainder was afterwards reversed, on the petition of Edward Guildford, Esq. guardian of his orphan son, and the estates restored; but they were not very large, according to modern ideas, amounting to no more than eight hundred pounds per annum, and about £20,000 in money; and this is but a small sum, even at that day, for a man accused of having robbed both the king and the public, when we recollect that he had inherited a great portion of it from his mother, besides his own fair emoluments and salaries in the exercise of his profession.

John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was born, as we have stated, in 1502; and two other sons, Ambrose and Jerome, some years afterwards. He distinguished himself in early life, attending Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to France, and attaching himself to Cardinal Wolsey; besides serving sheriff of Staffordshire, before his fixing at court, where he became Master of the Horse to Anne of Cleves. His services, both by land and sea, form part of the history of

that reign. He married Jane Guildford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guildford, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, when he was scarcely of age.

Several parts of his character, as drawn by Lloyd in his *State Worthies*, may serve to illustrate the events of this period. That author says, that Dudley's "favour was first purchased by his father's blood, and improved by his own cunning. King Henry sacrificed Sir Edmund Dudley to allay the people's rage, and raised his son to appease his ghost;" adding the observation, that, "he that disobligeth a multitude, must fall himself; but he that in so doing serveth his king, may advance his posterity." It is clear, however, that whatever the people's opinion of his father, in Dudley himself they placed great confidence; for Lloyd asserts, that when he marched against the rebels in Devonshire, and promised them mercy if they would submit, those unhappy persons replied, that "they knew *him* so honourable, that if he came himself they would embrace" the offer.

That he knew how to cajole the great, as well as he could gain popularity amongst the many, may be well believed from the perusal of the following epistle, to Mr. Secretary (Sir William) Cecil, written about the 7th of May, in this year, whilst he was maturing his double plan, for a matrimonial union of the Greys and Dudleys, and for the arrangement of a new line of succession*.

* Brit. Mus. Lansdown Coll. No. 3.

“ I haue receyved such lettres as came in y^r packytt, for the welch I hartelie thank y^r wishynge, yt myght haue byn so as yre helthe wolde haue p^rmytted you to haue delivered theym yorselke. Yt was styll sayd here that you had but a . . . of an ague, but nowe we here to the contrarye, and that you have byn . . . or some fyfte greuously handelyd, for the welch I am ryght sorye, trusting to God the worste ys past, wherof I wolde be as gladde as any man, bothe for your owne comforte and allso for the advancement of the kings waightye affaires. Your companyon dothe beare out the burdeyn with as moche payne as any man can do, so moche ys his good wyll towards the arms of his master and his contrye, that of a great deale of payne he makith little appearance. Others now haue whos souls you are well acquaynted with all, that nether erneste zeale or consyderacon of tyme can skarslye awake them out of theyr wontyd dreemes, and smoothly wynkithe all care from their hartte, howe urgente or waightye soever our causses ar, which things I can so yvill beere, as indede of lat, but for my duties to the stat, my harte colde skarslye endure the maner of yt, speciallye in this our most carefull dayes. Well, I do herewith to moche trouble you, and receyvyth no plesser wth so often remembrynge theyr forgetfulness, or I sholde saye the carelesnes of others. But now I will recompfort you with the joyfull comfort which our phesiciane hathe thes too or thre morryngs revyved my

spirite with, all which is that our sovraigne lorde dothe beginne very joyfully to enryche and amende, they haveing no doubte of the shorte recoverye of his highnes, the rather, he sais, his my^{tie} ys fully bent to follo theyr counsell and advys. And this wth my hartie comendacons I wish your pfytt helthe, from Grenewych, this viith of May, 1553.

Yr assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND."

Even if political objects had been out of the question, the Duke of Suffolk could not have had any objections to a son of Northumberland for his daughter; for, independent of the gentility, or *nobility* of the Dudleys*, as it was then termed, the words gentle and noble being considered as nearly if not quite synonymous, the Lord Guildford had an ancient genealogy to boast of by his mother's side; as it appears on her monument in More's chapel, in Chelsea church, that she quartered Mortimer, West, Lord Lawar, Cantilupe, and Grelle. It is evident, indeed, that Suffolk made no objections; and Rowe states the conference as follows:

Nor. Your grace's princely daughter, Lady Jane,
Is she yet come to court?

Suf. Not yet arriv'd,
But with the soonest I expect her here:
I know her duty to the dying king,

* DUDLEY bore OR, a lion rampant, double tailed, or *queue fourché*, VERT.

Join'd with my strict commands to hasten hither,
Will bring her on the wing.

Nor. Besecch your grace
To speed another messenger to press her ;
For on her happy presence all our counsels
Depend and take their fate.

Suf. Upon the instant
Your grace shall be obey'd : I go to summon her.

Though this was certainly, on the part of friends and relatives, a match of ambition ; yet, young as the parties were, it may also have been a match of attachment, for the families had for some years been in habits of intimacy. The courtship, however, must have been but short ; there was no time for the lover, according to the custom of those days, to approach his sovereign mistress with vows of love, but still not until he softened her heart, and opened the way for his personal addresses, by some sweet madrigal, or romantic panegyric, extolling her beauty, graces, and virtues, above all other women !

Nor had the youthful Jane an opportunity of imitating the fair damsels of her time ; the custom being, as stated in the old chronicles, for enamoured “ maydes and gentilwomen,” to give to their favourite swains, as tokens of their love, little handkerchiefs about three or four inches square, wrought round about, often in embroidery, with a button or tassel at each corner, and a little one in the centre. The finest of these favours were edged with narrow gold lace, or twist ; and then,

being folded up in four cross folds, so as the middle might be seen, they were worn by the accepted lovers in their hats, or at the breast.

These favours became at last so much in vogue, that they were sold ready made in the shops in Elizabeth's time, from sixpence to sixteen-pence a piece.

Tokens were also given by the gentlemen, and accepted by their fair mistresses ; thus described in an old comedy of the time* :

“ Given earrings we will wear
 Bracelets of our lover's hair ;
 Which they on our arms shall twist,
 (With our names carved) on our wrists.”

Rowe, in his tragedy, makes the courtship only precede the death of Edward ; but there he departed from historical truth for the sake, perhaps, of dramatic effect. He thus describes the first annunciation of the projected union to Lady Jane, making Northumberland say :

Meanwhile I beg your grace would straight inform
 Your princely daughter of our resolution :
 Our common int'rest in that happy tie
 Demands our swiftest care to see it finish'd.

Duch. My lord, you have determin'd well. Lord Guilford,
 Be it your task to speak at large our purpose.
 Daughter, receive this lord as one whom I,
 Your father and his own, ordain your husband :

* Cupid's Revenge. Beau. and Flet.

What more concerns our will, and your obedience,
We leave you to receive from him at leisure.

The first interview, after formal introduction, he thus delineates :

Guil. Hail, princely maid ! who with auspicious beauty
Cheer'st ev'ry drooping heart in this sad place,
Who like the silver regent of the night
Lift'st up thy sacred beams upon the land,
To bid the gloom look gay, dispel our horrors,
And make us less lament the setting sun.

Lady J. Yes, Guilford, well dost thou compare my presence

To the faint comfort of the waning moon ;
Like her cold orb a cheerless gleam I bring.
But say, how fares the king ?

Guil. He lives as yet.
But ev'ry moment cuts away a hope,
Adds to our fears, and gives the infant saint
Great prospect of his op'ning heav'n.

Lady J. Oh Guilford ! what remains for wretched England
When he our guardian angel shall forsake us ?

Guil. I own my heart bleeds inward at the thought,
And yet forgive me, thou my native country,
Thou land of liberty, thou nurse of heroes,
Forgive me, if, in spite of all thy dangers,
New springs of pleasure flow within my bosom,
When thus 'tis giv'n me to behold those eyes,
Thus gaze, and wonder.

Lady J. Oh, vain flattery !
Lead me to pay my duty to the king,
To wet his pale cold hand with these last tears,
And share the blessings of his parting breath.

Guil. Were I like dying Edward, sure a touch
Of this dear hand would 'baffle life away.

But I obey, I dread that gath'ring frown ;
And oh ! whene'er my bosom swells with passion,
And my full heart is pain'd with ardent love,
T' allow me but to look on you and sigh,
Is all the humble joy that Guilford asks.

That Lord Guildford could not fail to gain the heart of Lady Jane, even if no attachment had previously existed, we may readily believe ; for Grafton, in his chronicle, calls him a very comely tall gentleman : and not being quite twenty years of age, he was the more likely to interest a girl of sixteen, learned as she was.

Every thing being settled between the parties, the intended union was disclosed to the youthful monarch ; who is said to have been highly pleased with it, and, though naturally economical, to have been very bountiful upon the occasion.

It is uncertain whether the wedding took place towards the latter end of May, or beginning of June ; but the former is generally the received date. Added to which, Grafton, and several of the other early historians, say, that three marriages were celebrated on this day ; the first that of Lady Jane, the second between Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, and Lady Katharine, younger sister of the bride ; whilst the third was between Henry, Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon, and Lady Katharine Dudley, the youngest sister of Lord Guildford.

The state ceremony with which this marriage was celebrated is much spoken of by the historians of the time: and Strype records, that for the solemnity and splendour the master of the wardrobe had orders to deliver out of the king's wardrobe much rich apparel and jewels, to the Duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland, to the Marchioness of Northampton, to Lady Jane herself, and to Lord Guildford Dudley, for wedding apparel. These articles, it is curious to observe, were not new, but consisted of tissues, of cloth of gold and silver, &c. the property of the late Duke and Duchess of Somerset, which had been forfeited to the king, on the attainder of that nobleman: a convincing proof of the young king's economy, already alluded to, as well as of his bounty*.

* It may be amusing, in this place, to ascertain what formed an exact dress suit of a lady of rank in those times; which appears to be recorded in the following inventory of articles contained in "a cofer covered with grene vellet laied on with passemyne lace of golde, and the yron thereof all gilte."—"Item, one paire of sables double unlyned—Item, a corse of white tapheta to put on the said sables—Item, a cappe case of murrey vellet with a hatte of purple vellet embrodered with damaske golde, and garnished wth sondrie small diamontes, rubies, and p^{les}—Item, two mufflers of purple vellet likewise embrodered and garnished, one of them furred—Item, one sable skynne with a hedde of golde, conteyninge in it a cloake with a collar of golde enamelled blacke, set with foure diamontes and iiij rubies, and with twoo p^{les} hanginge at the eares, and two rubies in the eyes, the same skynne havinge also fete of golde, the clawes thereof being saphires, two of them bing broken, and with a diamounte upon the cloake—Item. one other lik. sable

We have not been able to procure any further account of the proceedings on this interesting occasion; but the general custom was for the bride, attired in a dress highly ornamented with gold and embroidery, with her hair hanging down her back, curiously combed and plaited, to be led to the church "between two sweet boys, with bride laces, and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves." Before the bride was carried a fair bride cup, of silver gilt, "wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, and hung about with silken ribbands of all colours; next there was a noise of musicians, that played all the way before her." Then followed a train of virgins, some bearing bride-cakes, and others garlands, ornamented with gold; "and the bride groom finely apparelled, with the young men, followed close behind."

That such was the precise order of Lady Jane's wedding, we cannot vouch; but such was the custom of the time in proceeding to the altar: then there were scarfs, and gloves, an epithalamium, masques sometimes, and all the company bedecked with the bride's colours, in every form and fantasy.

When this wedding took place, the populace of the metropolis, though very far from being pleased with

skynne, with a hedde of golde musled, garnished and set with iiij emeralds, foure turquises, vi rubies, two diamountes, and v p'les, with foure fite of golde cche set with a turquise, the tonge beinge a rubie."

the exorbitant greatness of the Duke of Northumberland, yet could not help admiring that beauty and innocence which appeared in Lord Guildford and his lovely bride. At court, too, the rejoicings and general approval were equally marked; but, as it has been observed, the pomp and splendour attending the celebration of these nuptials formed the last gleam of joy that shone in the palace of the youthful Edward, who grew so weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it time to carry his great project into execution; without which, he saw clearly, that himself and his friends could neither expect to continue long in power, or even security.

As for the youthful bride herself, whatever her love for her lord, and perhaps her secret satisfaction at being relieved from parental severity, though not an alien from their affections, she no doubt experienced some little regret at the breaking up of her studies, in consequence not only of her marriage, but also of her removal from her family mansion to Durham House, in town, and Sion House, in the country, the residences of the Dudleys: and at the former of which the marriage is stated to have been celebrated. In short, as a contemporary writer observes, she had then to bid adieu to the sweet delights of study, and the improvement of her mind, for the less interesting objects of mere worldly ambition.

How far our young female readers will agree with

this, we shall not pretend to say; but Lady Jane, and we hope they will, when so circumstanced, follow her example, did not allow even marriage to put a stop to her mental progress in improvement; for it was at this very period that she wrote her third admired letter to Bullinger. She was forced, however, soon to adopt a more active political life, though neither by her own free consent, nor for her own happiness.

In the early part of June, and very soon after the marriage, Edward's health began rapidly to decline; so that Northumberland was, in some measure, obliged to hasten his plans, perhaps before they had arrived at their proposed maturity. Indeed, his task was an arduous one; for he had not only to engage the dying monarch's consent, but also the approbation of the parliament and people.

With respect to the king, his principal apparent motive was the danger to be feared for the protestant religion, should the succession, as settled by Henry's will, be allowed to take place, seating Mary on the throne. This was attacking the royal youth on a subject near to his heart; and, in fact, the setting aside of Mary from the succession was now a point of most important consideration to all those who wished for freedom of conscience, and for the freedom of England from all foreign interference: for it is expressly stated, in a paper drawn up by Sir Richard Moryson*.

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. I. 353, 43.

that the Emperor of Germany had proceeded to very extraordinary lengths, “to procure,” as he said, “libertie of conscience for the Lady Marie.”

“The emperor findinge all his p̄ceedings against the Gearmanes much stained by thinges done in Englande, was for no other cause so loathe to fale out wth the French kinge, as that he knew Englande shoulde therby be at greatesteste reste, and haue a tyme to setle thinges of religion so begune and allredie gone forwarde, that he was in despaire to bringe them backe againe; yet that men may alwaies knowe, the diuell to keepe no hollydayes.”—he then proceeds to state how the emperor ordered his “ambassador lidger in Englande to Kinge Edwarde, that the Lady Mary might haue her conscience free, and thinke all lawes made since her fatheres deathe as concernynge religion to touch her no whyt at all.”

This, however, the council chose to oppose; and the youthful monarch, in supporting their determinations, displayed a clearness of judgment, and a strength of mind, honourable to himself, and patriotic towards his country. In regard to this affair, a long memoir was drawn up by Sir Richard Morrison, then ambassador at the imperial court, “shewing the godly and vertuous resolution of Kinge Edwarde y^e 6, upon y^e emperour’s demaund, to have y^e Ladie Mary, y^e kinge’s suster, to be allowed libertie of her conscience in Englande, Ano. 1553.”

On this occasion, both politics and religion were called in, to persuade the youthful prince to swerve from his resolves : but in vain. Even “ two bishopes were sent to pswade him ; they did alledge that there were good kinges in the ould testamente, that had suffered hill alteres, and yet were praised for good kinges. He aunswered them roundly, that as examples when they are good, and had Gode to allow them, are lefte to us to followe them ; so are civell examples set out to showe that they were men, and did faile of that p̄fection which God requirethe in his, to teache us not to be followers of them, but utterlye to warne us in any wyse to shunne them.”

But it was not sufficient for Northumberland's plans that Mary should be set aside ; it was necessary that Elizabeth's claims should also be annulled : and he therefore urged, both to the king and in council, that if Mary was illegitimate, so must Elizabeth be also ; both marriages, of Katharine of Arragon, and Anne Boleyn, having been dissolved. He therefore showed to the king, who was at first unwilling to wrong his sister Elizabeth, that either the will of Henry must be allowed to stand good in all respects, thus settling the succession on a Catholic, or else both princesses be set aside ; since what applied to Mary applied equally to Elizabeth.

With this reasoning the dying monarch was either convinced or overpowered ; and when he observed

that the Duchess of Suffolk would then be the next heir, he was ^{at} informed that lady had consented to decline her own right in favour of her eldest daughter, even though she herself was yet young enough to have an increase of family, and might thus have male heirs to claim the crown: which eventual claim, however, as we shall presently see, was to be guarded against and forbidden.

Now, under all circumstances, the only rational way of guarding against such a claim, even had the people of England consented to the change in the succession, and to the setting aside of Henry's will, would certainly have been for the duchess herself to have filled the throne: but this would have been to elevate Suffolk, without any immediate chance of supreme, yet concealed, influence for Northumberland; and accordingly the flimsy system of pushing on his daughter-in-law to the crown was adopted. It is strange that a man of his political knowledge could have thus been blinded, by ambition, to the fact that even those who wished, for conscience sake, to set aside Mary, would be unwilling to adopt a plan that might eventually lead to civil wars by the birth of male claimants from the duchess. Yet so it was; at least Northumberland, if he saw it, was determined to carry his point in the first instance, either by cajolment or by force.

To state all the steps which he took for that purpose is here unnecessary: it is sufficient to record that

on the 11th of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, and two of the judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were sent for to the council, and required to draw up an assignment of the crown to Lady Jane.

These judges requested a little time to consider of it; and at last answered that they could not presume to do any such thing without being guilty of high treason: adding, that all the privy counsellors, who might consent to such a measure, would inevitably incur all the pains and penalties of the act of succession, already detailed in a former section.

At this plain answer, Northumberland flew into the utmost rage, and exhibited the most uncontrollable fury; calling Montague a traitor, and threatening the other judges so that, as they afterwards declared, they thought he would have beaten them. They withstood all this for the time, however; but being sent for again on the 15th, they were so wrought upon by Dudley's threats, backed by the promise of a pardon under the great seal, that they consented to draw up the proposed settlement, which was then signed by all the rest of the judges, except Hales, who could not be prevailed on to act contrary to the express statute.

The will, as it was said, was drawn up by Sir Edward Montague, then lord chief justice of the common pleas, who afterwards endeavoured to justify himself to Mary for so doing. In his defence he throws great

blame on the Duke of Northumberland*, whom he describes as using great threats in the council, when some demur took place as to drawing up the new articles of succession, which, it was contended, could not set aside an express act of parliament: but to this objection the young king himself answered, that it was his intention shortly to call a parliament, who should ratify that which he then wished to be done.

Montague adds, that he himself “was in as great fear as ever he was in all his life before, seeing the king so earnest and sharpe, and the said duke so angry the day before, who ruled the whole counsell as it pleased him, and were all afraid of him, (the more is the pitty) so that such cowardnesse and feare was there never seen amongst honourable men, as it hath appeared.”

The purport of the proposed settlement shall be more fully explained when we come to the royal proclamation published in Lady Jane's name: it is sufficient here to observe, that in the British Museum† there is “a true coppi of y^e counterfet wille supposed to be y^e laste wille and testament of Kinge Edwarde y^e Sixt, forgede and publishede under y^e great seale of Englande, by the confederacie of y^e Dukes of Suffolke and Northumberlande, on y^e behalfe of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter to the said Duke of Suffolke, and testifiede wth y^e hands of 101 of y^e cheife of the

* Vide Fuller's Church History. Book viii.

† Harl. Coll. No. 35, p. 364.

nobilliti, and princepall men of note of this kingdom ; dated y^e 21 day of June, an^o 1553."

After the usual exordium, with professions of regard for the commonweal, this instrument notices the statute of Henry VIII. regulating the succession to Mary and Elizabeth, in default of Edward and his issue, subject to limitations by letters patent, or by a will of that monarch (Henry); then broadly asserting the illegitimacy of both these princesses, resting upon the divorces of their respective mothers, it declares both of them to be by parliament disabled. It also makes the objection of these princesses being but of the half blood to Edward, though it is evident that their inheritance was from their father, and not from him; which is followed by another objection in the probability of their marrying with foreign princes, "to the utter subversion of the commonwealth."

After this follows a curious assertion, that the daughters of the Duke of Suffolk, the descendants of Mary, youngest sister to Henry VIII. are of the *whole* blood to Edward by the father's side—an irrelevant plea certainly after the objection to *half* blood of the superseded princesses—also that they are "naturall borne here within the realm"—"very honorably brought up and exercised in good and godly learninge, and other noble vertues, so as there is greater truste and hope to be had in them that they be and

shalbe very well inclined to the advancement and setting forth of our comon welth”—on which considerations the will goes on to state, that the dying monarch “doth therefore, upon good deliberation and advise, herein had and taken, &c. &c. by these presents declare, order, assigne, limett, and appoynte, that yf it shall fortune us to decease, having no issue of our body lawefully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne and realme, &c. &c. shall be unto the eldest sonne of the bodye of the s^t Lady Francis (wife of the Duke of Suffolk and grand-daughter of Henry VIII.), lawefully begotten, being borne into the world in our lyfe tyme, and to the heires males of the bodye of the said eldest sonne,” and so from son to son—in default of whom, then to “the Ladie Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Francis, &c. &c.” then to the other sisters; and, failing them and their issue, then to the issue of the Lady Eleanore, sister of Lady Frances, &c. with limitations of descent as to priority of sons before daughters, grandsons before grand-daughters, &c. in each line.

Beyond these, all the issue of the *youngest* sister of Henry VIII. there were no remainders mentioned; and the prior claim of Margaret, Henry's *eldest* sister, then queen dowager of Scotland, and married to a second husband, the Earl of Angus, by whom she had the Lady Margaret Douglas, married to the Earl of Lennox, and mother of Lord Harnley, was totally

forgotten, thus leaving out Mary Queen of Scots, the next claimant, her cousin and future husband, Henry Lord Darnley, and his brothers and sisters.

The list of subscribing witnesses to this will is too long to be inserted here ; but that the will, as here recorded, is a correct, though not a lawful one, is proved by annexed certificate to it.

“ This is a true coppie of Edward the Sixte his will takene out of the originall under the great seale, w^{ch} Sir Robart Cottone delivered to the king's matie the xij^h of Appril, 1611, at Roystorne, to be canseled.”

As to the claim of Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, being set aside, there was one apparent justification in its having been already negatived by Henry himself, by virtue of that act of parliament which authorised him to regulate the succession by will ; but, as Walpole justly observes, that negative not being founded on natural expedience, it could be of no force, besides its being additionally invalidated by his having, by the same authority, yet in opposition to his own professed principle, settled the crown preferably on his own daughters*.

Notwithstanding all these considerations, the lords of

* Such an arrangement, by setting aside Mary of Scotland, would have excluded James I., and, consequently, the present royal family from the throne.

the council set their hands to the assignment in favour of Lady Jane, with the exception of Cranmer, the *protestant* Archbishop of Canterbury, who was perhaps unwilling to bastardize Elizabeth. Indeed he staid away from the council to avoid it; but the young monarch importuned him so much that, at length, he signed it also: yet his unwillingness in this respect stood him in no stead with Mary afterwards; who, doubtless, knew that it was not his love for her which influenced him.

Of this affair Fuller gives the following brief summary: “ King Edward, tender in years, and weak with sickness, was so practised on by the importunity of others, that, excluding his two sisters, he conveyed the crown to the Ladie Jane, his kinswoman, by that which we may well call the *testament* of King Edward, and the *will* of the Duke of Northumberland. Thus, through the pious intents of this prince, wishing well to the reformation; the religion of Queen Marie, obnoxious to exception; the ambition of Northumberland, who would do what he listed; the simplicity of Suffolk, who would be done with as the other pleased; the dutifulnesse of the Lady Jane, disposed by her parents; the fearfulnessse of the judges, not daring to oppose; and the flattery of the courtiers, most willing to comply, matters were made as sure, as man’s policy can make that good which is bad in itself. But the Commons of England, who for many years had coun’d

loyalty by heart, out of the statute of succession, were so perfect in their lesson, that they would not be put out of it by this new started designe ; so that every one proclaimed Mary next heir in their conscience."

The death of Edward soon followed, not without suspicion of foul play, taking place on the 6th of July, 1553 ; an event which is thus detailed by Rowe in his ragedy :

Lady J. Wo't thou not break, my heart !—

Suf. Alas ! what mean'st thou ?

Guil. Oh speak !

Duch. How fares the king ?

Nor. Say, is he dead ?

Lady J. The saints and angels have him.

Duch. When I left him

He seem'd a little cheer'd.

Lady J. As I approach'd to kneel and pay my duty,
He raised his feeble eyes, and faintly smiling,
Are you then come ? he cried ; I only lived
To bid farewell to thee, my gentle cousin.
With that he prest my hand, and oh !—he said
When I am gone do thou be good to England,
Keep to that faith in which we both were bred,
And to the end be constant. More I would,
But cannot—There his falt'ring spirits fail'd,
Then sinking on his pillow, with a sigh
He breathed his innocent and faithful soul
Into his hands who gave it.

Nor. Our grief be on his grave. Our present duty
Enjoins to see his last commands obey'd.
I hold it fit his death be not made known
To any but our friends. To-morrow early
The council shall assemble at the Tower.

The poet then introduces a scene between Lord Guildford and the intended heiress :

Guil. Good angels minister their comforts to thee !
And oh !
I beg thee, I conjure thee, drive away
Those murd'rous thoughts of grief that kill thy quiet,
Restore thy gentle bosom's native peace,
Lift up the light of gladness in thy eyes,
And cheer my heaviness with one dear smile.

Lady J. Yes, Guildford, I will study to forget
All that the royal Edward has been to me,
My private loss no longer will I mourn,
But ev'ry tender thought to thee shall turn ;
With patience I'll submit to heav'n's decree,
And what I lost in Edward find in thee.
But oh ! when I revolve what ruins wait
Our sinking altars and the falling state,
New sorrow to my lab'ring breast succeeds,
And my whole heart for wretched England bleeds.

Guil. My heart sinks in me at her soft complaining,
And ev'ry moving accent that she breathes
Resolves my courage, slackens my tough nerves,
And melts me down to infancy and tears.

But the real historical events we must postpone to the next section.



SECTION V.

Domestic Arrangements after Nuptials—Sion House—Literary Studies pursued—Events on Edward's Demise—Announcement of Dudley's Plans—Lady Jane refuses, but finally accepts the Crown—Mary's Proceedings in Claim of the Succession—Despatches to Ambassadors at Foreign Courts—Lady Jane takes up her Residence in the Tower—Royal Proclamation—Observations on ditto—Popular Feelings—Further Diplomacy—Remarkable Letter of Northumberland—Rising in eastern Counties in favour of Mary—Northumberland marches with Troops to oppose them—Anecdotes of Lady Jane—Of the Crown Jewels, &c.—Further Proceedings of her NINE DAYS' Reign—Duplicity of the Emperor Charles V.—Duplicity of the Council in the Tower—Meeting of the Disaffected at Baynard's Castle—Proclaiming of Mary—Lady Jane deposed—Her Resignation and Fortitude—Declared a State Prisoner—Separation from her Husband—Anecdotes, &c. &c.

IN the interval between the nuptials of Lady Jane and the demise of Edward, the young bride had become an inmate with the Dudley family; a change of domestic residence which, perhaps, took place immediately after the ceremony, as that was certainly celebrated at Durham House, the town mansion of Northumberland. Summer, however, was so far advanced, that the country had superior charms to those of the metropolis; and, accordingly, a few days afterwards,

the youthful, almost infantine, couple retired to Sion House, which was then, as now, attached to the title of Northumberland, having been granted to Dudley by Edward VI. about two years previous.

In this seclusion it is evident that Lady Jane permitted neither the cares nor the pleasures of matrimony to put an end to her studies ; for it was from Sion House that she wrote her third letter to Bullinger, preserved in the library at Zurich, as a memorial honourable to the early reformers.

Nor did she forget her duty or attention to her noble parents, parts of one or two letters to them being still extant, from which we present our readers with the following autograph :

*your graces humble daughter
Jane Dudley*

In that venerable edifice of Sion House, she remained, we believe, until the death of Edward, on the 6th of July ; for the sketch of events given by Rowe in his tragedy, already quoted, does not appear to be confirmed by the historical accounts of the young monarch's last illness. We may, however, give Rowe's delineation of the first interview that took place between the fond pair, on Edward's will being announced at their mansion.

Guil. What shall I say to thee ! what pow'r divine
Will teach my tongue to tell thee what I feel,
To pour the transports of my bosom forth,
And make thee partner of the joy dwells there?
Oh my fair one !

Thy Edward shines amongst the brightest stars,
And yet thy sorrows seek him in the grave.

Lady J. Alas, my dearest lord ! a thousand griefs
Beset my anxious heart ; and yet, as if
The burthen were too little, I have added
The weight of all thy cares, and, like the miser,
Increase of wealth has made me but more wretched.
I tremble, and my anxious heart is pain'd
Lest aught but good should happen to my Guildford.

Guil. Nothing but good can happen to thy Guildford
While thou art by his side, his better angel,
His blessing and his guard.

Lady J. Why came we hither ?

Guil. To thee, my princess,
Whose royal veins are rich in Henry's blood,
With one consent the noblest heads are bow'd ;
From thee they ask a sanction to their counsels,
And from thy healing hand expect a cure
For England's loss in Edward.

Lady J. How ! from me !
Alas ! my lord—But sure thou mean'st to mock me ?

Guil. No, by the love my faithful heart is full of !
But see, thy mother, gracious Suffolk, comes
To intercept my story : she shall tell thee,
For in her look I read the lab'ring thought,
What vast event thy fate is now disclosing.

The poet then describes the duchess as thus ad-
dressing her amiable daughter :

Duch. No more complain, indulge thy tears no more,
Thy pious grief has giv'n the grave its due ;
Make room to entertain the coming glory !

For majesty and purple greatness court thee,
Homage and low subjection wait : a crown,
A crown, my daughter, England's crown, attends
To bind thy brows with its imperial wreath.

Lady J. Amazement chills my veins ! What says my mother ?

Duch. 'Tis heav'n's decree : for our expiring Edward,
When now just struggling to his native skies,
Ev'n on the verge of heav'n, in sight of angels
'That hover'd round to waft him to the stars,
Ev'n then declared my Jane for his successor.

Lady J. Could Edward do this ? could the dying saint
Bequeath his crown to me ? Oh fatal bounty !
'To me ! but 'tis impossible !

Duch. But see, thy father
Northumberland, with all the council, come
To pay their vow'd allegiance at thy feet,
To kneel and call thee queen.

Lady J. Support me, Guildford ;
Give me thy aid ; stay thou my fainting soul,
And help me to repress this growing danger.

•

But we have not any historical authority to assume that the Duchess of Suffolk was the first to announce the proposed change of fortune : nay, there is reason to believe that even she was unacquainted with the measures which had been carried in council. Besides which it seems, as stated by Mr. Nichols, in his Leicestershire, and indeed confirmed by concurrent testimony, that Lady Jane was, to the moment of open avowal, if not wholly, yet in a great measure, ignorant of all the transactions which had prepared her way to the throne : for it is recorded that it was with equal grief and surprise she received intelligence of them. It

is well and elegantly said, that her heart, full of passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affection, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the information of her advancement to the throne was by no means agreeable to her.

The real fact, indeed, seems to be, that on the death of the king, the Duke of Northumberland went to Sion House, accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, and approached the Lady Jane with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign.

At this first interview she even refused to accept of the crown; pleaded the preferable right of her cousins Mary and Elizabeth, and expressed the strongest desire to remain in that rank of society in which she was born, rather than encounter the consequences attendant on an enterprise so dangerous, and even criminal. But she had been educated in strict obedience, so that the entreaties of her father, added to those of Northumberland, were as commands: it is said, indeed, that these entreaties had greater force with her than any reasons that were offered; nor would she perhaps have even yielded to them, had the tempters not assailed her in another way, gaining over to their cause the Lord Guildford Dudley; who, dazzled by so brilliant a destiny, was prevailed on to add the accents of love to the wiles of ambition—beyond this, female fortitude

could not be expected to go, and she at length relinquished her own judgment, submitting to the will of her relatives and friends.

We have also seen it more particularly stated, by an author nearly cotemporary, that on this interesting interview the Duke of Suffolk, with much solemnity, explained to her the disposition which the deceased monarch had made of the crown in her favour, the clear sense which the privy council had of her right, and the consent of the magistrates and citizens of London. All this he enforced most strongly; and it was no sooner done than both he and Northumberland fell upon their knees, and paid their duty to her as Queen of England. The whole scene produced in Lady Jane the greatest astonishment; she soon, however, recovered her self-possession, and is said to have answered, not only to the following tenor, but as nearly as possible in the following words. She first declared, that “the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king’s sisters, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre; and that it was to mock God and deride justice to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. Besides,” she added, “I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she eni

to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins; what she adorned but yesterday, is to-day her pastime: and if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces. Nay, with what crown does she present me? a crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Katharine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by the punishment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her; and why then would you have me add my blood to theirs, and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it? But even in case that it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed, if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy, should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns, which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My liberty is better than the chain you offer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters: and if you love me sincerely and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune though mean, than an exalted condition exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall."

The whole of this scene, as painted by the poet, is

so admirable, though not absolutely correct as matter of history, that apology for its insertion must be totally unnecessary.

Nor. Hail, sacred princess! sprung from ancient kings,
Our England's dearest hope, undoubted offspring
Of York and Lancaster's united line,
Hail, royal Jane! behold we bend our knees,
The pledge of homage and thy land's obedience ;
With humblest duty thus we kneel, and own thee
Our liege, our sov'reign lady, and our queen.

Lady J. Oh rise !
My father, rise !
And you my father too !
Rise all, nor cover me with this confusion.
What means this mock, this masking show of greatness ?
Why do ye hang these pageant glories on me,
And dress me up in honours not my own ?

Nor. The daughters of our late great master Henry
Stand both by law excluded from succession.
To make all firm,
And fix a power unquestion'd in your hand,
Edward by will bequeathed his crown to you,
And the concurring lords in council met
Have ratify'd the gift.

Lady J. Are crowns and empire
Trifles of such light moment to be left
Like some rich toy,
The pledge of parting friends ? Can kings do thus,
And give away a people for a legacy ?

Nor. Forgive me, princely lady, if my wonder
Seizes each sense, each faculty of mind,
To see the utmost wish the great can form,
A crown, thus coldly met ; a crown which, slighted
And left in scorn by you, shall soon be sought,
And find a joyful wearer, one perhaps
Of blood unkindred to your royal house.
And fix its glories in another line.

Lady J. Where art thou now, thou partner of my cares?

Guil. See, by thy side thy faithful Guildford stands,
Prepared to keep distress and danger from thee,
To wear thy sacred cause upon his sword,
And war against the world in thy defence.

Nor. Oh!

Methinks I see you seated on the throne,
Assembled senates wait with awful dread
To firm your high commands and make 'em fate.

Lady J. You turn to view the painted side of royalty,
And cover all the cares that lurk beneath.

Is it to be a queen to sit aloft

In solemn dull uncomfortable state,

The flatter'd idol of a servile court?

Is it to draw a pompous train along,

A pageant for the wond'ring crowd to gaze at?

Alas, Northumberland!—my father!—is it not

To live a life of care, and when I die

Have more to answer for before my Judge

Than any of my subjects?

Suf. Behold, we stand upon the brink of ruin,

And only thou canst save us. Persecution,

The fiend of Rome and hell, prepares her tortures;

See where she comes in Mary's priestly train!

Still wo't thou doubt, till thou behold her stalk

Red with the blood of martyrs, and wide wasting

O'er England's bosom?

Guil. Amidst that ruin

Think thou behold'st thy Guildford's head laid low,

Bloody and pale——

Lady J. Oh! spare the dreadful image!

Guil. Oh! would the misery be bounded there,

My life were little; but the rage of Rome

Demands whole hecatombs, a land of victims.

Mary shall by her kindred Spain be taught

To bend our necks beneath a brazen yoke,

And rule o'er wretches with an iron sceptre.

Lady J. Avert that judgment, heaven!

Whate'er thy providence allots for me,
In mercy spare my country.

Guil. Oh, my queen!

Does not thy great, thy generous heart relent
To think this land, for liberty so famed,
Shall have her towery front at once laid low,
And robb'd of all its glory?

Lady J. Yes, my loved lord, my soul is moved like thine
At every danger which invades our England;
My cold heart kindles at the great occasion,
And could be more than man in her defence:
But where is my commission to redress?
Or whence my power to save? Can Edward's will,
Or twenty met in council, make a queen?
Can you, my lords, give me the power to canvass
A doubtful title with king Henry's daughters?
Where are the reverend sages of the law
To guide me with their wisdoms, and point out
The paths which right and justice bid me tread?

Nor. The judges all attend, and will at leisure
Resolve you every scruple.

Lady J. They expound;
But where are those, my lord, that make the law?
Where are the ancient honours of the realm,
The nobles with the mitred fathers joined?
The wealthy commons solemnly assembled?
Where is that voice of a consenting people
To pledge the universal faith with mine,
And call me justly queen?

Guil. Our foes, already
High in their hopes, devote us all to death:
Haste then and save us, while 'tis given to save
Your country, your religion.

Nor. Save your friends!

Suf. Your father!

Duch. Mother!

Guil. Husband!

Lady J. Take me, crown me,

Invest me with this royal wretchedness ;
Let me not know one happy minute more ;
Let all my sleepless nights be spent in care,
My days be vex'd with tumults and alarms ;
If only I can save you, if my fate
Has mark'd me out to be the public victim,
I take the lot with joy. Yes, I will die
For that eternal truth my faith is fix'd on,
And that dear native land which gave me birth.

Guil. Wake every tuneful instrument to tell it,
And let the trumpet's sprightly note proclaim
My Jane is England's queen !
Thy name shall echo through the rescued isle,
And reach applauding heaven !

Lady J. Oh Guildford ! what do we give up for glory ?
For glory ! that 's a toy I would not purchase,
An idle empty bubble : but for England !
What must we lose for that ! Since then my fate
Has forced this hard exchange upon my will,
Let gracious heaven allow me one request :
For that blest peace in which I once did dwell,
All that I ask is, though my fortune frown,
And bury me beneath this fatal crown,
Let that one good be added to my doom,
To save this land from tyranny and Rome.

That Lady Jane was by no means ambitious of her royal dignity is confirmed by Dr. Fuller, who says, that when proclaimed Queen of England, she lifted not up the least finger to put the diadem upon herself ; but was only contented to sit still, whilst others endeavoured to crown her ; or rather, was so far from biting at the bait of sovereignty, that unwillingly she opened her mouth to receive it. Much too, it must be supposed, was owing to the influence of her hus-

band, yet a bridegroom, and the honeymoon scarcely over; and it is a curious fact, corroborative of this, that the young Lord Guildford, in right of his marriage, actually assumed the title of "King." This appears from a note* "that the king (Queen Jane's husband) had written to the regent of the Lowe Countries, signifying to her Mr. Chamberlayne's revocation, (*i. e.* Sir Thomas Chamberlayne's) and desiring her, in all *his* affayres, to give audience and full credit to Sir Philip Hoby."

The friends of Mary, about the court, and even in the confidence of Northumberland and Suffolk, did not permit her to remain long ignorant of those proceedings. Mary herself, during part of Edward's illness, was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire; but, having got intelligence of the new arrangement of the succession, she paid no attention to the invitation which was sent to her to come to court to see her expiring brother, being pretty well convinced that the invitation was nothing more than a trick on the part of the conspirators to get possession of her person for state purposes. Accordingly she set off, two days before the royal demise, for Kenninghall in Norfolk; from whence she proceeded to Framlingham Castle, in the vicinity of the coast, intending to escape by sea, if necessary: and her extreme haste and anxiety may be judged

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 523, p. 13.

from the fact, that upon this flight, in one day, she rode forty miles.

The intelligence of Edward's death did not reach her until the 8th; but it did not find her inclined to idleness in the assertion of her rights; for on that day, as appears by an original letter* she wrote to Sir George Somersall and others, announcing the important news, and commanding them to repair to her, as their queen, at the manor of Kenninghall; whither she meant to return from Framlingham, provided she found the nobility, gentry, and the people at large, willing to embrace her cause.

In the mean time Lady Jane's friends were not idle; though it is evident, as several historians assert, that they were so little prepared for the event, so very soon after the king's consent to the new settlement, that they wished to keep his death secret for some days: a fact which completely does away any suspicion of foul play, as has been more than once charged upon Northumberland; added to which, we may state, that it was not until the 8th of July that Jane made any open exercise of the regal power, which she then did by the appointment of the Lord Clinton as constable of the Tower. Nor was it until four days after the royal demise, that the friends of the youthful queen ventured to proclaim her; in the cabinet, however, they were

* Lansdown Coll. No. 1236, 19.

busily occupied ; and as the hopes of Mary and of her friends rested much upon the protection and even assistance of the Emperor Charles V. it may be both important and interesting to record the proceedings of the partizans of Lady Jane in that quarter, which we can do by a copy of the first despatch to the English ambassadors at the imperial court, written on the 8th of July *, to the following purport :

“ After our verie hartye comendacones wee muste neede be sorye to write that which comethe bothe from us and soothe to you with such extreame sorowe as the lyke never passid under thes our hands, but suche is the almyghty will of God in all hys creatures, that his order in tyme may not be by us resysted. In one worde, wee muste telle you a great heape of infelycitye; God hath called out of this world our soveraigne lordé the 6^t of this month towards nyghte, whose manere of deathe was suche towards God as assurethe us that his soule is in place of eternall joye. The desease whearof he dyed was off the putrefactyon of the lunges, beyng utterly uncurable. Of this evill, for the importaunce wee advertise you, knowing it to have moste comforte to have byne therof ignoraunte. And the same yee may take tyme to declare to the emperor as from us, which knowing assuredly that his majesty will sorowe and condole with us for the departure and loss of a prince

* E. it. Mus. Cotton. Galba. B. x. 1. 249.

of that excellence, and so deare a brother and frende, not doubtinge but his majestic will have in remembrance the auntiente anytie that hath byne alwayes betwixte their auncestores, for consyderacyon whearof yee shall assure him that ther shall not bee any thinge lackinge on our pte, but alwayes redynes to observe and maintayne the same. And so we wishe to us all the comforte of Gods Spirite in all adversetyes. The Counselle to Sir Phillipe Hobby.”

On the 9th of July, Mary wrote to the council, wondering that in so long a time after her brother's death, no information had been sent to her, especially since she was by all law and right to succeed him; a measure of good policy, but of which, at present, no notice was taken: the council, or at least Lady Jane's friends in it, being busily engaged; for it was not until the 9th that all the superior officers of the guard, &c. then at Greenwich, took the oaths of allegiance to the new queen. On the same day Ridley, then Bishop of London, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he expatiated at considerable length on the danger which would have resulted to the nation and to the protestant religion, had Mary been allowed to succeed to the throne.

Ridley was indeed active in the cause—more active than Cranmer; yet the latter was certainly a member of Queen Jane's council, though he had opposed the

new settlement—perhaps out of affection towards Elizabeth, and regard for [his own character and consistence with respect to Katharine's divorce, and Elizabeth's legitimacy, now called in question.

On the 10th of July, in the morning, Mary's letters came to the council, claiming the crown and their allegiance, a circumstance which seems to have hastened the measures of Lady Jane's friends; for it was not until that day that she openly took upon herself the royal state and government of the kingdom.

It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days of their reign in the Tower; and thither it was determined that the new sovereign should proceed from Sion House, where she still remained. On their way, however, the cavalcade made some stay at Durham House, and from thence departed for that fortress, not through the city, but by water. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon of that day she made her entry into the Tower, accompanied by a numerous cavalcade of the nobility of both sexes. It has already been noticed as an extraordinary fact, that her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, should have given up a prior claim to the crown in favour of a daughter; but it was now even more remarkable that a woman of her pride, and a mother of her severity, should actually have condescended, with the assistance of several other ladies of high rank, to bear up that daughter's train.

The salutes of ordnance from the Tower batteries, on this occasion, are described as greater than ever had been heard before.

Scarcely had the youthful queen assumed her state in the Tower, when a proclamation was issued; and by six o'clock two heralds, with a trumpet, announced the same to the people, claiming their allegiance; first in Cheapside, and afterwards in Fleet-street.

This proclamation is highly curious*, whether as referring to Lady Jane, or as matter of history, and commenced with the following exordium, which fully settles the dates of the foregoing events as related.

“ Jane, by the grace of God, Queen of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ on earth the supreme head. To all our loving, faithfull, and obedients, and to every of them, greeting. Where[as] our most dear cousin Edward the Sixth, late King of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth the supreme head under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland, by his letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of June, in the 7th year of his reigne, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages,

* Brit. Mus. Lansdown, 198.

for the profit and surity of the whole realme thereto assenting, and subscribing their names to the same, hath by the same his letters patents resited that," &c.

This document then notices the various state reasons for the maintenance of order, and goes on to announce, that “* For as much as the imperiall crowne of this realme, by an acte made in the xxxv yeare off the reigne off the late kinge of worthy memory, Kinge Henrye the VIII. our progenitor and great uncle, for lacke off issue off his bodye lawfully begott, and for lacke off issue off the bodye off our sayd late cosyn Kinge Edwarde the VI.^h by the same acte limited and appoynted to remayne to the Lady Marye, by the name of the Lady Marye, his eldest daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begott, and for the defaulte of suche issue the remander therof to the Ladye Elisabeth, by the name of the Ladye Elisabeth, his second daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten, with suche condicions as should be limited and appointed by the sayd late kinge of worthy memory, Kinge Henry the Eight, our progenitour and great uncle, by his letters patents under the greate seale, or by his last wille in writinge, signed with his hand. And, forasmuch as the sayed limitacion of the imperiall crowne of this realme, being limited as is aforesayed to the sayed Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth being ille-

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Dul. F. v. 194.

gitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had betweene the sayd late kinge, Kinge Henry the VIII., our progenitour and great uncle, and the Lady Katherine, mother to the sayd Lady Mary; and also the marriage had betweene the sayd late kinge, Kinge Henry VIII., our progenitour and great uncle, and the Lady Anna, mother to the sayd Lady Elisabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical lawes, and which sayd severall divorcements haue been severally ratified and confirmed by authority off parliament, and especially in the xxxiii yeare of the reigne off Kinge Henry the VIII., our progenitour and great uncle, remaininge in force, strength, and effect, wherby as well the sayd Lady Mary, as also the sayd Lady Elisabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and been thearby disabled to aske, claime, or chalenge the said imperiall crowne, or any other off the honours, castels, manoures, lordshipps, lands, tenements, or other heridatements, as heire or heires to our sayd late cosin Kinge Edwarde the VI., or as heire or heires to any other person or p̄sons whosoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the sayd Lady Mary and Elisabeth were unto our sayd late cosin but of the halfe bloud, and therefore by the aunient lawes, statutes, and customes of this realme be not inheritable unto our sayd late cosin, although they had been borne in lawefull matrimony, as indeede they

were not, as by the sayd sentences of devorce, and the sayd statute off the xxviii yeare off the reigne off our Kinge Henrie the VIII. our sayd progenitoure and great uncle, plainly appereth; and forasmuche also as it is to be thought, or at the least muste be doubted that iff the sayd Lady Mary or Lady Elisabeth shoude hereafter haue and injoye the sayd imperiall crown of this realme, and shoulde happe to marry with any strainger borne out off this realme, that the sayed strainger havinge the government and the imperiall crowne in his hands would adhere and practise, not only to bringe this noble free realme into the tyrannie and servitude of the Bishopp off Rome, but also to haue the lawyes and customes of his or their owne natiue cuntrye or cuntryes, to be practised and put in use within this realme*, rather than the lawes, statutes, and customes here of long time used, wherupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realme do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common weele of this realme. Wherupon our said late dere cosin, weighing and considering with himself what waies and meanes were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said imperial crowne, if it should please God to call our said late cosin out of this transi-

* The first of this proclamation is preserved as spelt in the original; the remainder is copied from No. 198, of the Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum.

tory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance that we and the Lady Katherine and the Lady Marie, our sisters, being the daughters of the Lady Fraunces, our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving father, Henrie Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Elienore then decesd. sister to the said Lady Fraunces, and the late wife of our cosin Henrie, Erle of Cumberland, were very nigh of his grace's bloud, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitoure and great uncle, and being naturallie born here within the realme, and for the very good opinion our said late cosin had of our, and our said sisters and cosin Margaret's good education, did therefore upon good deliberation and advise heerein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late cosin King Edward the 6th to deceese, having no issue of his body lawfullie bigotten, that then the said imperiall crowne of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crowne of the realme of Fraunce, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, priviledges, preleminaries, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cosin, King Edward the 6th, or to the said imperiall crowne belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body remain, come and be unto the eldest some of the body of

the said Lady Fraunces lawfullie begotten, and so from sonne to sonne, as he should be of auncientye in birth, of the body of the said Lady Fraunces lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cosin's lifetime, and to the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfullie begotten: and for default of such sonne borne into the world in his lifetime, of the body of the said Lady Fraunces, lawfullie begotten, and for lack of heires males of every such sonne lawfullie begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singular other the premisses should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Fraunces, and to the heires male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crowne, and all other the premisses, should remaine, come, and be to the said Lady Katherine, our said second sister, and to the heires males of the body of the said Lady Katherine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly at large it may and doth appar. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the sixt day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy our said most dere and entirely beloved cosin Edward the 6th, whose soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heires of his body begotten, and that also there remaineth at this present time no heires lawfully begotten of the

body of our said progenitour and great uncle, King Henrie theight, and forasmuch also as the said Lady Fraunces, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world in the lifetime of our said cosin King Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses to the same belonging, or in anywise appertaining, now be, and remaine to us in our actual and royal possession, by aucturity of the said letters patents: Wee do therefore, by these presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithfull, and obedient subjects, that like as we for our part shall, by God's grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benigne soveraigne queene, and lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawfull sutes and causes, and to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintaine Goddes most holy word, christian polity, and the good lawes, customs, and libties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not, but they and every of them, will again, for their partes, at all times and in all cases, shew themselves unto us their natural liege queene and lady, most faithfull, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiaunces, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties: willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our lawes, as they tender our favour, and will an-

swer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In witness wherof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at our Towre of London, this tenth day of Julie, in the first yere of our reigne.

“ God saue the Queene.”

If the objects of Jane's friends had merely been the support of the reformed religion, the probability of success, as to setting Mary aside, would have been much greater, if they had offered the crown to Elizabeth, than to their own nearer relative.

But if the Duchess of Suffolk had then borne a son, it is also more than probable that Northumberland would never have thought of aggrandizing that line, except indeed that he could thus have matched a daughter into the Grey family. At all events, it is evident, that the charge of illegitimacy against Mary and Elizabeth came with a very ill grace from the partizans of the Lady Jane; for, as Walpole fairly observes, Charles Brandon, father of the Duchess of Suffolk, had married one woman while contracted to another, but was divorced to fulfil his promise; and the repudiated wife was living when he married Mary Queen of France, by whom he had the Duchess. But even if the first marriage of Brandon should be legally deemed null, still no such plea could be made in favour of his daughter the Duchess Frances herself; for

Henry, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane, was actually married to the sister of the Earl of Arundel, whom he divorced, without the least grounds, to make room for his marriage with the Lady Frances*. But after all, as the civilians of that day did not impugn the marriage, we must consider that the previous divorce was consonant both to canon and to statute law.

We find it recorded in Strype that there seemed no opposition nor murmuring against this proclamation, when thus made, except that a young man, a vintner's apprentice, had the boldness to speak some few words in favour of the Lady Mary's true right and title, for which he was immediately taken up, and the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, set on the pillory, and had both his ears cut off. During this punishment an herald was present and a trumpet blowing; and when it was over, the offender was taken down, and re-committed to the Compter prison.

Hollinshed, speaking of this event, thinks it not beneath the dignity of history to record that the culprit's name was Gilbert Pot, drawer to Ninion Sanders,

* We have already recorded that the legitimacy of Brandon's marriage was substantiated in one of Elizabeth's parliaments; but the point as to Dorset has never been positively cleared up. It is not now of any great consequence, as the heirs of Henry's eldest sister Margaret are too numerous for any chance of his sister Mary's heirs claiming the throne of England. Mary's claims are now vested in the present Marchioness of Buckingham.

vintner, dwelling at St. John's Head, within Ludgate. He adds, that he was accused by his said master, and then says, that about five o'clock of the same day, in the afternoon, Ninion Sanders, and John Owen, a gunner, coming from the Tower by water in a wherry, and shooting London-bridge, towards the Blackfriars, were drowned at St. Mary Locke, and the wherry-men saved by their oars.

But we must not omit what is said by Bishop Godwin, who, in his history of this period, speaks with great apparent candour, and seems worthy of credit. He describes Lady Jane as about sixteen, not unhandsome, learned beyond imagination, of a most acute wit, and for prudence, even at that age, superior to her sex; extremely pious; devoted to the reformed faith; and so far from aspiring to the honour conferred on her, that she took the regalia with tears; so that it plainly appeared she was compelled to ascend the throne by the importunities of her parents and friends, directly contrary to her own inclinations. But, he adds, that when she passed through the city to the Tower, she was not saluted with any acclamations, though vast crowds flocked about her, drawn rather, it seemed, to gratify their curiosity than to express their joy; and this, he says, was the first omen which encouraged Mary's friends to the resolution of making some attempt in her behalf, when a proper occasion should offer. For, though they were awed from any in-me-

diate motion by the presence of the Duke of Northumberland, whom he designates a man of the sharpest discernment and deepest politics, yet they hoped, if they could by any means hereafter get him to a distance, they might then be able to effect something favourable.

When Queen Jane arrived at the Tower, all the lords of the council, and other state officers, were ordered to attend her in the fortress; a measure of double policy—not only showing to the people the assent of the higher classes, but also securing the latter in some measure as prisoners, leaving them no apparent alternative but to obey the will of Northumberland*.

On the following day, the 11th of July, the lords of the council wrote to the commissioners, then in Flanders negotiating the treaty of peace, a copy of which despatch is in the British Museum, and is highly illustrative of the politics of this short and unhappy usurpation; for such it certainly was, however possible that it might have finally been sanctioned by the nation as to the exclusion of Mary, in regard to the protestant religion.

* Though the new queen had, according to ancient custom, and perhaps from present policy, taken up her abode in the Tower; yet she began, even now, to prepare for a change of residence, appointing Sir Ambrose Dudley, K. G., to be keeper of her palace at Westminster; to whom there is an order extant, of this day's date, for twenty yards of velvet, twenty-five ells of Holland cloth, and thirty and three-quarters ells of coarser cloth: a degree of exactness which marks the simple, nay, penurious, manners of the times.

But it must not be forgotten, that Elizabeth was a Protestant, though her heir apparent, Mary of Scotland, was a Catholic. But even in default of Mary of Scotland, there was another and a prior claim to that of Lady Jane, the claim of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., together with her issue.

Had not those prior and protestant claims existed, the nation might have had more reason to regret the fatal issue of the ambitious policy of Suffolk and Northumberland.

The despatch alluded to says, “ After our hartly commendacions, ye shall learne by this bearere, Mr. Shelleye, and by suche letters as ye shall receave from the queenes highnes, our soveraigne ladye Queene Janne, which copy of suche letteres ar hir, ye ar sendythe to the emperoure, what ys the cause of thys message nowe sent to you, and what yt is that ys now to be done by you theare ; first, the signifcacion of our soverayne lord’s death ; next, the possession of the queene’s highnes in the crowne of thys realm ; thirdlie, the placynge of you Sir Phillip Hobbye, knight, as ambassadoure theare resident ; fourthlie and laste, the offer for your remayning theare to proceed yn the treatie of the peace, yff it shall soe lyke the emperoure. Furthermore, ye shall understand that although the Lady Marye hath byne written unto from us to remayne quiete, yet neverlesse we see hir not so

waye the matter that yff she myghte she wuld disturbe the state of this reelme, havinge thereunto as yet no maner apparaunt of helpe or comforte but onlie the connizaunce of a fewe lordes and base people: all other the nobyllytye and gentylmen remaynynge in theyr dutyes to our soveraigne ladye Queene Jane. And yet, nevertheless, because the condyssiones of the basser soarte of people is understood to be unruly yff they be not governyd and kept in ordere, thearfore for the meetyng with all events, the Duke of Northumberlande's grace, accompanied with the Lorde Marquis of Northampton, proceedeth with a convenient power into the parties of Norfolke, to keepe thos cuntryes in stay and obedyence, and because the emperor's ambassadores heare remaynynge shall on this mattere of the pollecie not intermedle, as it is very lykly they will and doe dyspose themselves, the Lord Cobham and Sir John Masone repairethe to the same ambassadores, to give them notice of the Ladye Maryes proceedyng againste the state of this realme, and to put them in remembrance of the nature of theyre office, which is notte to medle in theis causes of pollecie, nether directly nor indirectly, and soe to charge them to use themselves as they give noe occasione of unkyndnes to be mynestred unto them, whereass wee wold be moste sorrye for the amitie, which one our parte, wee meane to conserve and maintaine. And for that grace the ambassadores her shall advertise thether what is said to them. Ye

shal therefore declare to the Emperore bothe the cause of this message to his ambassadores, and what the verie message is, usynge it in suche soarte as thearby as the amytie may beste bee preserved. The xith of July, 1553. The Counselle to the Comissioneres."

This official document was followed up, on the ensuing day, by royal instructions to the commissioners, as letters of credence, which also deserve notice here; and to which we prefix a fac-simile of her sign manual.

Jane the Queene

"Trusty and well beloved,—Wee greete you well. It hath so pleased God of his providence, by the callinge of our most deare cossine, of famos memory, Kinge Edward the VIth, out of this life, to our very natural sorrowe, that we be bothe by our s^d cossenens lawfull determination in his lifetime, with the assente of the nobillytye and state of thys our realme, and also as hys lawfulle heir and successore in the whole blode royelle, possessed of this our realme of England and Ireland. Wherefore wee have presently sente to our goode brother the emperore this present bearrer hearoff, our trusty servant Mr. Richard Shelley, with lettres of recommendation and credence from us, therby signifyinge unto hym as well the sorowfull deathe of our s^d

cossene the king, as also our successyone in the crowne of this realme, motioninge unto our good brother the continuance in suche amitie and league as our s'd cossene and predecessore had with him; for which purpos wee have furthermore signified by our sayd letteres, not only our ordres that you, Sir Phillipe Hobby, shal theare remayne and reste with our s'd good brother the emperor, as oure ambassadeore residente, prayyng him to give you credite appertaynyne to suche an office, but also that for the lyke zelle and desire wee have to the wealle of Christendome, as our s'd cossene Kinge Edward hadd, wherin we doe count to follow his steppes, wee have given order that ye, the wholl number of our ambassadores shal theare remayne to contynewe to dwell in the former comyssyon which ye had from oure auncestore the kinge, yff it shall pleyse our s'd good brother, the copy of which our lettres wee send to you hearwith, for your more ample understandyng of our determinacion, which considered and pondered, wee wolde yee made y^e moste speedy coursse to our s'd good brother, and in order to execute the matters contayned in the sayd letteres of y^re parte to be declared—firste, the signifycacon of the deathe of our sayd auncestore and cossene the kinge, whearoff as wee by nature muste take greate grieffe, soe wee doubte not but our sayd good brother will for frendshyppe and greate amytye sorrowe and condole with us; next, that you, Sir Phillipe Hobby, have expresse ordere thear to re-

side and attend uppon our good brother as our mynester for the contynuaunce and the entertaynemente of the intelygence and firme anytie heretofore had and concluded betwixte our sayd auncestore and cossene the kinge and our sayd good brother, the maintenaunce wheroff wee with the assente of our nobillitye and counselle doe muche desire, and for our pte will not faile but confirme and maintaine the same. In thirde, yee shall shewe to our sayd good brother, that as wee doe by God's good providence succede to our sayd auncestore and cossene King Edwarde the VIth in this our crowne and dominiones, so do wee also fynde in our harte and mynde the verye dissente and inheritaunce of his most Chrystiane devotyone and affectyon to the comonwealle of Chrystendome, which movethe us, with the advice of our nobyllitye and counselle, to offere to our sayd good brothere the ministry and office of you our ambassadores, to remayne theare and pceed in the former comyssyon for the consylyacōn of some good peace betwixte our s'd good brothere and the Frenche king, wherein wee reffere our good purpos and meaninge to the mynde and contentacōn of our s'd good brothere. This donne, whatsoever our good brother shall aunswere, ye maye thearunto replye as ye thynke expediente, tendinge to the contynuaunce of our auncestores' anytie, with an addition that yee forthwith report unto us. For the reste of the proceeding hearoff, ye

shal understand by the bearer, to whom we wold ye shold give credit. Given undere our signate, at our Towere of London, xijth of July, 1553.”

Such was the foreign state policy of the new reign ; but the general tenor of the despatch manifests considerable doubt as existing in Northumberland's mind in regard to the emperor's future proceedings. At home too he must have felt great doubt and mistrust ; he was very active, however, not only in the council but in the closet, and exerted himself to gain over the distant nobility to his fair daughter's cause. A specimen of this may be found in the following copy of the rough draft of an address, in his own hand-writing, which we give, as nearly in a fac-simile manner as possible, with all its interlineations and erasures, marking thereby more strongly the actual state of feeling in his mind at the moment. The original itself, which is in a state of excellent preservation, is a most interesting document, carrying back the eye and mind, as it were by enchantment, over so many centuries.

“ Ryght trusty and ryght well beloved Counslr's,—
Wee grete you well, and desyr the same, that wheras
yt hathe pleased (Almighty”—interlined) “ God to
call to his mercy out of this lyfe our dearest cousyn
the kyng yur late soveryn lorde. By reson wherof,

and such ordynanceys as the sayd late kynge dyde establysh in hys lyfe tyme, for the securitie and welfare of thys realme, we are cnteryd into our ryghtful possessyon of thys kingdome, as by the (last will of our sayd derest cosin our late auncestor, and other"—interlined) "severall instruments to that effect, signed with his owne hande, and sealyd with the greate scale of *this realm (England*"—obliterated) "in his owne presence, and the nobles of this realm for the most pte, and all our counsell and judges, with the . . . and all . . . of the ryte of landes and suche other . . . usages of this our realm of England—have allso subscribed theyr names, as by the same will and testament it may now evydently and doeythe apere; now therefore do you understand that by the . . . and sufferance of the heavenly Lorde, and by the assent and consent of the sayd nobles and counsellors, and others before signified, wee do this day make our entry into our Towere of London as ryghtfull quene of this realm, and have accordingly sett forthe our proclamation to all our loving subiects, givying theym therby to understand the same as theyr dutye of aledgaunce which they now of ryght owe unto us, as most amply shall be shewn hereafter, nothing doubtinge, ryght trusty and well beloved counslr, but that you wyll endeavour yrselve in all thinges to the uttermost of your power, not only to defend for our use, but allso assist

us in our ryghtfull possessyon of this kingdome, and to disturbe, repel, and resyste, the fayned and untrew clayme of the Lady Mary, bastard daughter to our grate uncle Henry the Eight, of famous memory. Wherin as you shall, and that w^t to your hous^d truthe and duty aptayneth, so shall we quitt and shew unto you and yours accordingly. At our mansion of——”

As no place of residence was here named, it is probable that a removal to Westminster was in contemplation, provided any general expression of the public feeling should sanction it, and render the enforced detention, for such it was, of the council in the Tower no longer necessary. But no such feeling did manifest itself; and as early as the 12th of July, perhaps the day previous, as appears from the despatch to Sir P. Hoby already given, news was brought that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk had declared in favour of Mary; when Northumberland and his friends determined upon raising forces with all possible speed, that they might surprise Mary, and bring her to town a prisoner. To accomplish this the Duke of Suffolk, it has been stated, was to have taken the command; but Bishop Godwin, who certainly must have known the fact, asserts, that those in the council, at the Tower, who privately favoured Mary, influenced Lady Jane to keep her father near her, and to send Northumberland on the expedition,

urging to her that he, having so lately reduced the Norfolk rebels, under Ket, would do more by the terror of his name, than the other could by his arms or counsel, or any other way; they also pointed out to her, that her own father was the most proper guardian for a daughter; and as to any doubts of the city, they added, that her council were at hand to govern it with their usual wisdom and fidelity.

Influenced by these reasons, Lady Jane, we are told, pleaded the same to Northumberland; but she had considerable difficulty to persuade him to the measure, as he foresaw the probability that his presence must be much more important in town than in the proposed expedition. He was, however, finally persuaded; and on the 13th of July marched out of London with an army of six thousand men, preparations having been previously made to array the forces; in furtherance of which, on the night of the 12th three carts were sent to the Tower, which were there laden with ordnance of all kinds, consisting of great guns and small, bows, bills, spears, morrice pikes, arrows, gunpowder, victuals, tents, gunstones, &c.—a species of military preparation, but most certainly which, in quality and in extent, appears almost ludicrous at the present day.

As Northumberland was marching through the city, he turned to the Lord Grey de Wilton, who was with him, and desired him to observe the crowds that pressed to see their march. “Yet,” said he, “in all

this multitude, my lord, you do not hear one wish us prosperity."

Hollinshed, speaking of this transaction, says, that Northumberland was persuaded to the measure "by the speciall means of the Ladie Jane his daughter; who, taking the matter heavilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole counceill that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie." He adds, that after the council had urged various reasons to Northumberland—"finallic, said they, this is the short and the long, the quene will in no wise graunt that hir father shall take it upon him"—"then went the counceill in to the Ladie Jane, and told hir of their conclusion, who humbly thanked the duke for reserving hir father at home"—a favour which he certainly granted her in opposition to his better judgment.

Indeed Northumberland seems to have had great suspicions of the fidelity of the Londoners from the very first; for no sooner had Lady Jane been proclaimed, as we have before noticed, than the lord admiral, Lord Clinton, was made constable of the Tower, who instantly mounted guns, all ready for service, upon all the bastions and batteries.

Yet Jane herself so far got the better of her fears as to exercise several of the personal rights belonging to her assumed station; for it appears, that on the 12th of July she received from the Marquess of Winchester, then lord treasurer of the household, various of the

crown jewels, pieces of gold and silver, some cash, books, and even some articles for her wardrobe *.

If a little personal vanity should have entered into this arrangement, though it was certainly in opposition to her previously declared feelings and opinions, some excuse may liberally be made on the plea of extreme youth: besides urging the possible influence of her husband: for, as we shall presently see, Lord Guildford also received various things from the lord treasurer.

* But, unwilling as Lady Jane was to usurp the crown, and with the moderation and good sense which she possessed, it is not probable that the trappings of royalty had any particular charms for her; though she was obliged to assume that state which she coveted not, and to avail herself of the crown jewels for that purpose. It may serve to mark the manners of those times, if we here insert a list of the articles which were two days afterwards delivered to her, as specified in the original order:—
 “ a tyshe of golde, being a toothe pyk; a like pendent, having one great perle, and iiii litle perles at it: one dewbery of gold; a colet with v perles, and a counterfit stone: a newte of silver white; a tablet with a white saphire and a blewte, and ballese and a perle pendaunt; a tablet of golde, hanged by a chaine, with a Sainct Jones heade, and viii flots perles; a tablet of a picture of our Ladie of Piti in a blew stone; a paire of beads of white purslayn, with viii gawdes of golde: viii gawdes of golde, and a tassell of Venice golde; beads of golde crymery worke; buttons of gold of crymery worke; six purses hangers of silver and gilt; v small agathes, with stars graven on them; perles in rondels of gold between pivots of perles, pipes of golde; a paire of brasselets of flagon, chayne with jacinths; buttons of golde crymery worke, in every button six perles; xxx small turkesis litle worthe; xiiii table diamants set in collets of golde: an abillyament of goldsmithes worke, another abillyament, with xii table diamants set in golde; xliii damaskin buttons; a cloake of damasked worke, booke fashun.”

Great anxiety was now felt by Jane's council for the success of their diplomatic application at the imperial court, where, indeed, they had very little chance of success, as appears from the double line of policy which the emperor's ministers were evidently pursuing. To illustrate this we shall introduce a letter, which, on the 15th of July, the commissioners in Flanders wrote to the privy council, to the following effect :

“ Pleesythe it your good lorshippes. The xiiij^h of this presente, Don Diego found me Sir Phillipe Hobby and me Sir Richard Morysone, walkyne in our hostes gardene, and at his first comynge to us enterid into a longe talke howe much he was bounde to owe his good wille and service to Englande, and therfor he could not but at one time both sorrowe with us for the losse of our good old mastere, a prince of such vertue and towardnesse, and also rejoyse with us that our master, which is departed, did, ere he wente, provid us of a kynge, in regard wee had so much cause to rejoyse in; he made his excuse that he had come to us the daye before, layenge the staye therof in De Arras, for, said he, when I told him I wolde come to you, and shewe me a ptaker of both your sorrowes and gladnes, with mynde to offer to the kinges majestie by you both of as muche service as could lye in mee, and of as muche as my frends and kynsmen were able to doe in case De Arras did thinke suche my office would not

offend the emperor my master; De Arras advyse was that I shold for a seeson differe my going unto you, which as I did somwate againste my will, so I and mine were very glad that so I dide, for he tellethe mee nowe I may come to you and sorrowe with you, and rejoyce with you, and make all the offeres that I canne to the kyng's majestie, for I shall not only not offend him in so doinge, but I shall muche please his majestie therwith. And therfor saithe hee do I and sorye that you lose so good a kyng, so doe much I rejoyse that ye haue so noble and so towarde a prince to succede him, and I promyse ye, by the worde of a gentleman, I wolde at all tymes serve his highnesse my selfe, and as many as I shall be able to bringe with me, yff the emperor did calle me to serve him. We sayd we had hitherto reseaved the sorrowefulle newese, but the glad tydyns wear not as yet come unto us by no letters. Wee weare glad to heare this muche, and wishe that we weare able to telle him all howe thinges went at home. Saythe hee, I cane telle you thus muche. The kyng's majestie, for discharge of his consyence, writ a good peece of his testamente with his owne hande, barrynge bothe his systeres of the crowne, and leavyng it to the Lady Jane, neere to the French Queene. Whether the two daughteres be bastarde or noe, or whie it is done, wee that be straungeres haue nothinge to doe with the matter. You are bounde to obaye and serve his majestie, and therefor it is reesone

we take him for your king, whom the consente of the nobles of your countrie haue declared for your kinge (and sayth he), for my pte off all others am bounde to be glade that his mjstie is sette in this offyce. I was his godfather, and wold as willingly spend my blood in his service as any subiecte that he hathe, as long as I shall see the emperor, my master, so willing to embrace mjties amytie. Don Francisson de Este, generall of all the footmen Itallyanes is gone to his charge in mylland, who, at his departure, made the lyke offere, as long as his mastere and owres shold be frendes, which he trusted should be ever; praynge us at our returne to uttere it to the kinges majesty, and thus will humbly take our leave of your honores. From the comissioneres att Bruxelles, the xvth of July, 1553, to the counsell."

This was followed up, two days afterwards, by a similar despatch :

"Pleese it your lordshippes, the xvith of this month, wee declared to the emperor our hevie and sorrowfulle newes, ettynge forth, after that, your lordshippes assurede good willes and redynes att all tymes to observe and maintayne the amyties which hathe beene all wayes betwixte the realme of Englande and this off Burgundy, and other the emperor's domynyones accordyng to your lordshippes pleasures, sygnified

unto us in yours of the 9th day of this present month, for aunswere wheerunto the emperor sayd that he was ryghte sorie, for his pte, of this hevie newes, whearby he greved the losse of suche a brother and so goode a frende, bothe to him and to his contryes, and consyderynge that he was of such a greete towardness, and of such a hope to doe good, and bee a staye to chrystendome, his losse was so muche the greater; and usid in this behalfe many good wordes to our late soveraigne lordes commendacones and declaracones of his grefe for his deathe, and touchinge (saythe he) the amytie whiche hathe byne betwixte me and my late good brothre our cuntryes and subjectes, as I haue alwayes had good will to the observaunce off the same, according to such treatyes as weere betwixte us, so nowe understanding by you, my lordes off the counsells good inclinacone and mynde to entertayne and observe this amytie for corespondence of bothe, nowe haue and shall haue lyke good wille to keepe and continue the same, and I thanke them for makynge mee to understande theyr good wille hearin, with compliment off many other good wordes to this purpose, so that as farre as wee could perceave by his wordes, he myndethe, assuredlye to keepe amytie with us; yet to dyspyher him better herin, it wear not amyse in our oppynyones, when as your lordshippes shall advertis him, either with some newe league, or to tempte him

what he will saye to the olde, or by some other meanes which your wisdomes can better devyse. From the comyssyoners with the emperor, the 17th off July, 1553, to the counsell.”

Whilst this scene of diplomatic duplicity was acting on the continent, the ruling party at home were using all means in their power to work upon the populace; for which purpose, on the 16th of July, another sermon was preached, at St. Paul's Cross, in favour of the new reign, by Mr. Rogers, the learned reader of that cathedral; but he is stated to have been more circumspect in his observations respecting Mary, and her alleged illegitimacy, than Bishop Ridley had been on the preceding Sunday. This, however, availed him but little afterwards; for he was one of Mary's victims at the stake, during her short but persecuting sway.

Considerable lukewarmness was also manifesting itself among the council, and suspicion seems already to have been at work; as Hollinshed relates, that in the course of the day, the Lord Treasurer having left the Tower to go to his house in London, the gates of that fortress were shut at seven o'clock in the evening, in a sudden manner, and the keys carried to Lady Jane, “which was for feare of some packing in the Lord Treasurer; but hee was fetched again to the Tower, about twelue of the clocke in the night.” That he was not a staunch

friend to the cause was indeed surmised, and not unjustly, as his subsequent conduct proved: but he was not the only secret enemy of the youthful usurper; for the unhappy Jane began now to feel the sorrows of a crown; the spirit of discord already working powerfully amongst her council, in consequence of reports made by the Marquess of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, that the people in general were for Mary, that many of the nobility, who were at liberty, had joined her, and that the hopes of Northumberland's success were already extremely doubtful.

Letters also arrived this day from Northumberland himself, in which he complained that the council had not sent the promised reinforcements; which had so much discouraged his own troops, that they already began to dwindle away very fast.

These letters were likewise very pressing for further succours, and consequently were at once laid before the council; but the members were busily engaged in consulting their own safety, and in contriving how to get out of the Tower, in which they were still, in some measure, prisoners: and it was not in the eastern counties alone that Mary was acknowledged; for in Buckinghamshire, numbers of the people were up in arms. To quiet them, it was resolved by the council to send troops under the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel; but this seems to have been merely a stratagem to blind Suffolk, whilst so many of Mary's friends were in his

power; for both these earls were the warmest friends of Mary, as they clearly manifested the very first moment at which they felt themselves at liberty to declare their sentiments.

Under the impression of their friendship, however, both Jane and her father were induced, on the 18th of July, to send off the following despatch.

“ To our trustie and well beloved Sir John Bridges
and Sir Nicholas Poyntz, Knyghts.

“ Jane the Quene.

“ Trusty and welbeloved wee grete you well, because we doubt not but this our most lawfull possession of the crowne w^h the free consente of the nobilitie of our realm, and other the states of the same as bothe playnly knowne and accepted of you, as our most loving subjects, therefore we do not reiterate the same, but now most earnestly will and require, and by authoritie herof warraunt yoⁿ to assemble, muster, and levie all the powre that you can possible make, either of yo^r servants, tenants, officers, or freends, as wel horsmen as footmen, reparing to o^r right trusty and right welbeloved cousins, the Erls of Arundell and Pembroke*, theyr tenants, servants, and officers, and with the same to repayre with all possible speed towards Buckingham-

* In the margin is a note—“ Tho these earls at the time were plotting against her.”

shire, for the repression and subduing of certain tumults and rebellions moved there against us and our crowne by certain seditious men. For the repression wherof we have given orders to divers others our good subiects, and gentlemen of such degree as you are, to repaire in like manner to the same parties. So as we nothing doubt but upon the accesse of suche our loving subiects as be appointed for that purpose to the place wher this seditious people yet remayne, the same shall either lake harte to abyde in their malicious purpose or else receyve such punishment and execution as they deserve, seking the destruction of their native countrie and the subversion of all men in their degrees, by rebellion of the base multitude, whos rage being stirred, as of late yeres hath byn seen, must nedes be the confusion of thole coñon weale. Wherfor oʳ sp̃iall trust is in yoʳ courage, wisdom, and fidelities in this mater, to advaunce yoʳ selfs bothe w^h poure and speed to this enterprize, in such sorte as by y^e nobilitie and counsaill shalbe also prescribed unto you. And for the sustentation of yoʳ chardge in this behalf, oʳ said counsaill, by our said comaundement, do further give order to your satisfaction, as by their lēres also shall appere unto yoʳ. And beside that, we do assure you of our speciall consideracyon of this yoʳ service to us and our crown, as expresly to the p̃servacon of this our realme and commonwealth. Geven under our signet at the

Toure of London, the xviiith day of July, the first yeare of our reign."

After Northumberland had set off to seize upon Mary's person, an accident, as Godwin describes it, took place, which proved of very great advantage to the affairs of that princess. The friends of Lady Jane, fearing Mary's escape by sea, had ordered six men of war to cruise off the coast in the North sea to intercept her, if necessary. By stress of weather these ships were forced into Yarmouth roads, at the very juncture whilst a levy was raising there in Mary's favour. The seamen and soldiers on board the squadron were soon prevailed upon, partly by threats and partly by promises, to mutiny, and to deliver up the ships to Sir Henry Jerningham, one of Mary's officers, which thus furnished her with men, ammunition, and a train of artillery, and she resolved at once to march against Northumberland's forces, which were speedily forced to retreat. When the news came to town, it excited great alarm in the minds of the council; and Mary's friends at court, being now grown bolder, began to open their minds to each other: some of them, however, were suspected by Suffolk and his confidential friends; for Godwin says, that Mary's partisans desired "nothing more than the liberty of going out of the Tower, that they might confer more freely."

In regard to this affair Bishop Godwin states, that when Northumberland first retreated to Cambridge, he plied the council with continual and earnest applications for recruits; great numbers of his men having deserted at Bury, and he fearing that most of the remainder would soon follow them. Mary's party in the Tower, taking hold of this opportunity, came to a resolution that the necessary forces should be raised as soon as possible; but then, they said, that none but themselves ought to be trusted with the command of them; and soon after, by Suffolk's leave, they got out of the Tower, where they had been, in fact, prisoners, and dispersed themselves over the city.

By the care and industry of the heads of these, all of the council that could be found, and several others of the nobility, who were known not to be ill affected towards Mary, were assembled at Baynard's Castle, then the residence of the Earl of Pembroke, under pretence of treating upon general affairs, but in reality to concert measures for the deposition of Lady Jane.

We are told by Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, that Jane's party seemed resolute for her until the 19th of July; on which day the following persons of quality were with her in the Tower, consulting of affairs for her service; viz, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, then lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester; also the Duke of Suffolk; the Earls of Bedford, Arun-

del, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke; the Lords Darcy and Paget; Sirs Thomas Cheiney, Richard Cotton, William Petre, John Cheke, John Baker, and Robert Bowes; being all of her council. On this occasion they received a letter from Lord Rich, lord lieutenant of Essex, informing them that the Earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary: whereupon a letter was drawn up by Sir John Cheke, in the absence of Cecyl, addressed to Lord Rich, exhorting him to stand true to Queen Jane, as they, they said, would do: yet even then some hesitation must have commenced amongst them; for Sir William Petre, who was secretary of state, along with Cecyl, avoided writing the letter, which was to the following effect:

“ After our right hartie commendations to your lp, although the matter contained in your letters of thearle of Oxford departing to the Lady Mari be grevous unto us for divers respects, yet we must neades giue your lp our hartie thanks for your redi advertisement thereof. Requiring your lp nevertheless, like a nobleman, to remain in that promise and steedfastness to our sovereign lady Queen Jane's service, as ye shall find us redi and firm with all our force to the same. Which neither with honor, nor with saftie, nor yet with duty wee mai now forsake.

“ From the Toure of London, the xixth of Julie, 1553.”

Whilst part of the council were preparing this letter in the Tower, transactions of a very different nature were in course of action in the city: for at the meeting at Castle Baynard, the Earl of Arundel first moved allegiance to Mary, in which he was seconded by Pembroke; who, clapping his hand upon his sword, declared that he was ready to dispute the matter at the hazard of his life with any one who would dare to oppose it. In an instant, all were unanimous: the lord mayor and aldermen were sent for, and the whole assembly proceeded to Cheapside, where they proclaimed Mary by sound of trumpet: and with such loud applause was it received, that, as Godwin affirms, after the name of Mary, not a word more could be heard for the general acclamations; and no sooner was this affair settled, than the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget set off on horseback to Mary, to acquaint her with the intelligence; which she received with the greatest transport.

In a letter written at this period, it is stated, that “greate* was the triumphe hear at London: for my tyme I never sawe the lyke and by the reporte of otheres the lyke was never scene. The number of cappes that weare throwne up at the p̃clamation wear not to be tould. The Earle of Pembroke threwe awaye his cape full of angelles. I sawe myself money

* B. M. Harl. Coll. 358, 41. Extracts of letters describing the events of that time.

was throwne out at windowes for joy. The bonfires weare without number ; and what with showtynge and criange off the people, and ringinge of belles, theare could no one man heare almost what another sayd ; besides banketynge and skipinge the streete for joye. There was present at the ꝑclamation, the Earle of Pembroke, the Erle of Shrewesbury, the Earle of Arundelle, my L^d Warden, my Lord Mayor, Sir John Mason, Sir John Cheeke, and divres others to the number of x : and after the ꝑclamation, made in Cheapsyde, they all wente to Poules to even song. The Duke of Suffolk beinge at the Towere, and as some saie did not knowe of it ; but so soone as he herd of it, he came himselfe out of the Towere, and comandyd his men to leave ther wepones behinde them, sayinge that he himselfe was but one man ; and himselfe ꝑclaymed my Lady Maryes grace Queene on the Towere Hille ; and so came into London levinge the leiffteenant in the Towere."

The letters then detail the proceedings in the country ; saying, " Great shew was in Northamptonshire about ꝑclayming of hir : yesterdaye, at Northampton, Sir Thomas Greshame ꝑclaymed her, with the ayd and helpe of the towne, being borne amongst them, whether he would or not. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton beinge presente, withstandinge him to his powere, was drive[n] for saffetye of his lyfe to take a howse, and so beinge borne amongeste diveres gentlemen, escaped

with much adoe; the inhabitants would have kilde him veri fayne.

“ Sir Robarte Girwill (Greville) mustered yester-daye in Northamptonshire, to goe to my Lord of Northumberland, as many men as he coulde gette. Sir Thomas Greshame receyving like lettres to mustere for my Lord of Northumberland, woulde not goe. Sir John Williams hathe 6 or 7000 men thear, as Richard Silliard saythe, and thear is with him Sir Edmunde Pertham, the sherive of Oxfordshire, the sherive of Northamptonshire, and diveres others. Sir John Gate and my Lord Garret, (sic orig.) who went downe with the garde to my Lady Mary, as is credibli reportid, are bothe slayne, and the most pt off the garde gone to my Lady Mary.”

Northumberland's conduct on this expedition is thus briefly stated by Lloyd, yet with more minuteness than in general history :

“ The first night he came to Cambridge, all the doctors supped with him : and Doctor Sandys is appointed to preach before him next day. The doctor late at night betakes himself to his prayers and study, desiring God to direct him to a fit text for that time. His Bible openeth at the first of Joshua, and (though he heard no voice with St. Augustine, saying, *Tolle et lege*—‘ take and read’—) a strong fancy inclined him to fix on the first words he beheld, v. 16 : And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest

us we will do ; and whithersoever thou sendest we will go : a text he so wisely and warily handled, that his enemies got not so full advantage against him as they expected.

“ The next day the duke advanced to Bury, with his army, whose feet marched forward, whilst their minds moved backward. Upon the news brought him, he returned to Cambridge, with more sad thoughts within him, than valiant souldiers about him. Then went he with the mayor of the town, and proclaimed the queen ; the beholders whereof more believing the grief in his eyes, when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands, when he threw up his cap. Slegge, sergeant at arms, arrests him in King’s College ; and when the proclamation of pardon set him at liberty, the Earl of Arundel re-arrests him, at whose feet he craves mercy !”

The new council despatched letters to Northumberland to acquaint him with the news, calling upon him to submit ; but he had previously been arrested, as already noticed : and we may sum up shortly, by stating, that the army was then disbanded ; and the greatest part of the nobility, in a body, offered their allegiance to Mary. Those who had offended, obtained pardons generally ; and the whole blame of the affair was thrown upon the Duke of Northumberland.

The proclamation was no sooner made, than the new council sent forthwith a force to seize upon the

Tower, and to call Suffolk before them ; after which they went to St. Paul's, and sung Te Deum.

Such indeed was the rapid change of policy, that several even of those very counsellors who had but the day before set their hands to resolutions to stand by the Lady Jane, actually were amongst those who proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London ; and immediately joined in despatching the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget to her with a letter, written from Baynard's Castle, whither they had removed from the Tower ; in which letter “ they beg her pardon, and to remit ther former offences.”

There is no reason to believe that Lady Jane was acquainted with any part of these events, before the information was brought by her father : but the tragic poet already quoted, by assuming the fact differently, has produced a very interesting scene :

Guil. What read'st thou there, my queen ?

Lady J. 'Tis Plato's Phædon ;

Where dying Socrates takes leave of life

With such an easy, careless, calm indifference,

As if the trifle were of no account,

Mean in itself, and only to be worn

In honour of the giver.

Guil. Shall thy soul

Still scorn the world, still fly the joys that court ?

Still shall she soar on contemplation's wing,

And mix with nothing meaner than the stars ?

Lady J. The faithless counsellors

Are fled from hence to join the princess Mary.

The servile herd of courtiers, who so late

In low obedience bent the knee before me ;
 They who with zealous tongues and hands uplifted
 Besought me to defend their laws and faith,
 Vent their lewd execrations on my name,
 Proclaim me trait'ress now, and to the scaffold
 Doom my devoted head.

Guil. The changeling villains !

* That pray for slavery, fight for their bonds,
 And shun the blessing, liberty, like ruin.
 But wherefore do I loiter tamely here ?
 Give me my arms : I will preserve my country
 Ev'n in her own despite. Some friends I have
 Who will or die or conquer in thy cause,
 Thine and religion's, thine and England's cause.

Lady J. Art thou not all my treasure, all my guard ?
 And wo't thou take from me the only joy,
 The last defence, is left me here below ?
 Think not thy arm can stem the driving torrent,
 Or save a people who, with blinded rage,
 Urge their own fate, and strive to be undone.
 Northumberland, thy father, is in arms ;
 And if it be in valour to defend us,
 His sword, that long has known the way to conquest,
 Shall be our surest safety.

Godwin says, that when the Duke of Suffolk heard of Mary being proclaimed in the city, as much dejected then, as he had before been exalted, he went into his daughter's apartments, ordered all the ceremonies of royalty to cease, and admonished her to bear, with what patience she could, her return to a private station. But her fortitude was greater than he had imagined ; for she answered him, with a countenance not at all discomposed, that this was a more welcome summons to her than that which forced her against her

will to such an elevation. “In obedience to you, my lord,” said she, “and to my mother, I acted a violence on myself, and have been guilty of a grievous offence; but the present is my own act, and I willingly resign to correct another’s fault, if so great a fault can be corrected by my resignation and sincere acknowledgment.”

Godwin next asserts, that having said this, she retired to her closet, more solicitous for her life, which she knew to be in danger, than concerned for the loss of her crown.

The whole scene is thus delineated by Rowe :

Suf. Oh, my children !

Lady J. Alas ! what means my father ?

Suf. Oh, my son !

Thy father, great Northumberland, on whom
Our dearest hopes were built——

Gail. Ha ! what of him ?

Suf. Is lost, betray’d !

His army, onward as he march’d, shrunk from him,
Moulder’d away, and melted by his side :
With some few followers he arrived at Cambridge,
But there ev’n they forsook him, and himself
Was forced, with heavy heart and wat’ry eye,
To cast his cap up with dissembled cheer,
And cry God save Queen Mary. But, alas !
Little avail’d the semblance of that loyalty ;
For soon, thereafter, by the earl of Arundel
With treason he was charged, and there arrested,
And now he brings him pris’ner up to London.

Lady J. Then there’s an end of greatness ; the vain dream
Of empire and a crown that danced before me
Is vanish’d all at once—Why, fare it well !

Guil. And canst thou bear this sudden turn of fate
With such unshaken temper?

Lady J. For myself,
If I could form a wish for Heaven to grant,
It should have been to rid me of this crown,
And thou, o'erruling, great, all-knowing Pow'r!
Thou who discern'st our thoughts, who seest 'em rising
And forming in the soul, oh, judge me thou,
If e'er ambition's guilty fires have warm'd me,
If e'er my heart inclined to pride, to pow'r,
Or join'd in being a queen. I took the sceptre
To save this land, thy people, and thy altars:
And now behold I bend my grateful knee
In humble adoration of that mercy
Which quits me of the vast unequal task.

No sooner had the Duke of Suffolk thus, as it were, deposed his daughter, than he went to the council, in obedience to their summons, and subscribed further instructions, to be sent to Northumberland, requiring him to disband his forces, and submit to Queen Mary, if he meant they should become humble suitors to their sovereign for him and his, as well as for themselves. That he must have done this under great alarm, is evident; for even previous to his appearance before the council, and indeed as soon as Mary was proclaimed, an order had been sent by the council to the Tower, to require him to deliver up that fortress, and to acknowledge Queen Mary publicly. It was further directed, that Lady Jane should lay down the title of queen; a measure already voluntarily adopted, and with great propriety: for it appears that the indivi-

duals within the Tower were as friendly to the change as those without; not through want of affection towards the Lady Jane, but from dislike to Northumberland, and a natural loyalty to the direct line of descent. It must be remembered, too, that the idea of Mary being a Roman catholic was not likely to weigh much with the great mass of the people in that early stage of the reformation; for there can be no doubt, that the Roman catholic ritual and ceremonies were much more popular with the ignorant and unenlightened body of the "commons," as they were then specifically styled, than the simplicity of the reformed mode of worship.

The arrival of the official announcement of deposition is thus described by the poet so often alluded to, whilst Lady Jane was kneeling:

Duch. Nay, keep that posture still, and let us join,
Fix all our knees by thine, lift up our hands,
And seek for help and pity from above,
For earth and faithless man will give us none.

Lady J. What is the worst our cruel fate ordains us?

Duch. Cursed be my fatal counsels, cursed my tongue,
That pleaded for thy ruin, and persuaded
Thy guiltless feet to tread the paths of greatness!
My child—I have undone thee!

Lady J. Oh, my mother!
Should I not bear a portion in your sorrows?

Duch. Alas! thou hast thy own, a double portion.
Mary is come, and the revolting Londoners,
Who beat the heav'ns with thy applauded name,
Now crowd to meet and hail her as their queen.
Sussex is entered here, commands the Tower,

Has placed his guards around, and this sad place,
 So late thy palace, is become our prison.
 I saw him bend his knee to cruel Gard'ner,
 Who, freed from his confinement, ran to meet him,
 Embraced and bless'd him with a hand of blood ;
 Each hast'ning moment I expect 'em here
 To seize and pass the doom of death upon us.

Guil. Ha ! seized ! shalt thou be seized, and shall I stand
 And tamely see thee borne away to death ?
 Then blasted be my coward name for ever.
 No, I will set myself to guard this spot,
 To which our narrow empire now is shrunk :
 Here I will grow the bulwark of my queen,
 Nor shall the hand of violence profane thee
 Until my breast have borne a thousand wounds,
 Till this torn mangled body sink at once
 A heap of purple ruin at thy feet.

Lady J. And could thy rash distracted rage do thus ?
 Draw thy vain sword against an armed multitude ?
 Oh, call thy better nobler courage to thee,
 And let us meet this adverse fate with patience !

The rapidity of the change of circumstances may be well illustrated by the following anecdote :—A Mr. Edward Underhill, descended from a good family in Warwickshire, who, for his services in the army, had been admitted into the band of gentlemen pensioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, was new about the person of Queen Jane. In his youth, he had been a man of pleasure ; but, being converted to the reformed religion, became so sincere and so zealous a protestant, that his comrades in the band, who were less religious, gave him the nick-name of the Hot Gospeller. He was, from these circum-

stances, a favourite at the new court, and was actually on duty at the Tower, when his wife was brought to bed of a son. The baptism of the infant became a matter of court favour, and was fixed for the 19th of July, when the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Pembroke, were to be godfathers by proxy; and the Lady Jane herself not only signified her intention of being godmother, but, as a still higher mark of favour, desired that the child should be called Guildford, after her beloved husband. The baptism, as appointed, took place; and Lady Throckmorton, wife to Sir Nicholas, was deputed to stand the royal proxy. On leaving the Tower that evening, Lady Throckmorton received the royal commands from Lady Jane herself, according to all due form and ceremony, and carried them, as usual, to the merry meeting.

The ceremony over, she returned to the Tower; but her amazement was excessive, on entering the royal apartment, to find the canopy of state removed, together with all other ensigns of royalty: she was soon informed, however, by one of the new officers, that times were changed since her departure in the afternoon; that her lady was a prisoner for high treason, and that she must attend her, but under the weight of a similar charge!

The ruling party had indeed shown very little delicacy on the subject; for scarcely had their order for laying down the crown been received at the Tower,

than it was followed by another, directing that Lady Jane should be made a close prisoner, and that all her attendants should proceed to their respective homes. To this order she bowed with great resignation: but the parting with her loved husband (for they were most cruelly separated) was almost too much for her fortitude.

The execution of this most ungenerous task fell upon Bishop Gardiner; but whose zeal for the Roman catholic religion made the task a work of pleasure.

Beyond this short record of the proceedings of that day history affords us no detail. We may well indeed imagine the heart-rending sorrows of the youthful couple, thus separated in the very early days of nuptial union, and fearing for each other's fate more than for their own;—but the best illustration will be found in the scene, as delineated by the admirable poet so often quoted :

Sus. Guards, execute your orders ; seize the traitors ;
 Here my commission ends. To you, my lord,
 So our great mistress, royal Mary, bids,
 I leave the full disposal of these pris'ners :
 To your wise care the pious queen commends
 Her sacred self, her crown, and what's yet more,
 The holy Roman church, for whose dear safety
 She wills your utmost diligence be shown
 To bring rebellion to the bar of justice.
 Yet farther, to proclaim how much she trusts
 In Winchester's deep thought and well tried faith,
 The seal attends to grace those rev'rend hands ;

And when I next salute you, I must call you
Chief minister and chancellor of England.

Gar. Unnumber'd blessings fall upon her head,
My ever gracious lady! to remember
With such full bounty her old humble beadsman!
For these her foes, leave me to deal with them.

Sus. The queen is on her entrance, and expects me.
My lord, farewell.

Gar. Farewell, right noble Sussex;
Commend me to the queen's grace; say, her bidding
Shall be observed by her most lowly creature.
Lieutenant of the Tow'r, take hence your pris'ners:
Be it your care to see 'em kept apart,
That they may hold no commerce with each other.

Guil. Wilt thou part us?

Gar. I hold no speech with heretics and traitors.
Lieutenant, see my orders are obey'd.

Guil. Inhuman, monstrous, unexampled cruelty!
Oh tyrant! but the task becomes thee well:
'Thy savage temper joys to do death's office,
To tear the sacred hands of love asunder,
And part those hands which Heav'n itself hath join'd.

Duch. To let us waste the little rest of life
Together had been merciful.

Suf. Then it had not
Been done like Winchester.

Guil. 'Thou stand'st unmov'd;
Calm temper sits upon thy beauteous brow;
Thy eyes, that flow'd so fast for Edward's loss,
Gaze unconcern'd upon the ruin round thee,
As if thou hadst resolved to brave thy fate,
And triumph in the midst of desolation.

Lady J. And dost thou think, my Guildford, I can see
My father, mother, and ev'n thee, my husband,
Torn from my side, without a pang of sorrow?
How art thou thus unknowing in my heart?
Words cannot tell thee what I feel: there is
An agonizing softness busy here

That tugs the strings, that struggles to get loose,
And pour my soul in wailings out before thee.

Guil. Give way, and let the gushing torrent come ;
Behold the tears we bring to swell the deluge,
Till the flood rise upon the guilty world,
And make the ruin common.

Lady J. Guildford ! no ;
The time for tender thoughts and soft endearments
Is fled away and gone ; joy has forsaken us ;
Our hearts have now another part to play ;
They must be steel'd with some uncommon fortitude,
That fearless we may tread the paths of horror,
And, in despite of fortune and our foes,
Ev'n in the hour of death be more than conquerors.

Guil. Oh teach me ! say, what energy divine
Inspires thy softer sex and tender years
With such unshaken courage ?

Lady J. Truth and innocence ;
A conscious knowledge rooted in my heart,
That to have saved my country was my duty.
Yes, England, yes, my country ! I would save thee ;
But Heav'n forbids, Heav'n disallows my weakness,
And to some dear selected hero's hand
Reserves the glory of thy great deliverance.

Lieut. My lords, my orders——

Guil. See ! we must—must part !

Lady J. Yet surely we shall meet again.

Guil. Fain would I cheer my heart with hopes like these,
But my sad thoughts turn ever to the grave,
To that last dwelling whither now we haste ;
Where the black shade shall interpose betwixt us,
And veil thee from these longing eyes for ever.

Lady J. 'Tis true, by those dark paths our journey leads,
And through the vale of death we pass to life :
But what is there in death to blast our hopes ?
Behold the universal works of nature,
Where life still springs from death.
Mark with what hopes upon the furrow'd plain

The careful ploughman casts the pregnant grain ;
There hid, as in a grave, awhile it lies,
Till the revolving season bids it rise,
Then large increase the buried treasures yield,
And with full harvest crown the plenteous field.



SECTION VI.

Review of Lady Jane's Misfortunes—and of her Conduct under them—Anecdotes of her Imprisonment—Committal of Northumberland to the Tower—Submission of the Council—Further Arrests—Arrival of the Princess Elizabeth—Release of Suffolk—Diplomatic Occurrences, &c.—Mary enters the Metropolis and Tower in Triumph—Joy of the Catholics—Public Opposition to the Revival of Popery—Tame Submission of Cecil; and others—Trial of the Duke of Northumberland and various Friends—Anecdotes, &c.—Their Execution—Mary's avaricious and ungenerous Conduct towards Lady Jane—Seizure and Claims of Crown Jewels, &c.—Trial and Condemnation of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley, Cranmer, and others—Anecdotes, &c. &c.

WE have already offered a suggestion, drawn from the general view of the case, that if Elizabeth had been called to the throne, in opposition to Mary, the success of the attempt would have been more certain than with regard to Lady Jane's elevation to regal dignity; in consonance with which we may notice, that one reason for the ill success of Lady Jane is stated by Lloyd to have sprung from "a natural antipathy in Englishmen against usurpation, and as great an inclination for the succession. A point they had conned so well of late

out of the statute made for that purpose, that they could not well be put out of it by this newe started designe."

Happy would it indeed have been for her, had her relatives been influenced more by a love for the Reformation, and a desire for the welfare of the kingdom, than by motives of personal ambition; she would then not only have been saved, at least, great part of her own misfortunes, but would also have avoided seeing them increased by the downfall of her family, by the imprisonment of her own relatives, of her husband, his father, nay, his whole family, and of many of the nobility and gentry, all made prisoners in her cause. To all this, however, she rose superior; not through want of sensibility, but from the aid of true religion and genuine piety.

Her conduct on this change of fortune is quaintly but well described by Fuller, who says, that she made misery itself amiable by her pious and patient behaviour; adversity, her night clothes, bearing her, as well as her day dressing, by reason of her pious disposition.

Burnet also, in his History of the Reformation, describing her conduct after this reverse of fortune, says, that with all her advantages of birth and parts, yet she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that all people both admired and loved her, and none more than the youthful Edward. He adds, that she had a mind wou-

derfully raised above the world; and at the age wherein others are but imbibing the notions of philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the highest precepts of it: for she was neither lifted up with the hope of a crown, nor cast down when she saw her palace made afterwards her prison; but carried herself with an equal temper of mind in those great inequalities of fortune that so suddenly exalted and depressed her.

In fact, during her subsequent imprisonment, all the regret she expressed was of the noblest kind, and a mark of a most tender and generous nature; being more affected with the sufferings of her husband and father than with her own.

She was now, to all intents, a state prisoner; as were also the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and her husband, Lord Guildford: not, perhaps, in strict incarceration, yet certainly in separate apartments. At that period Beauchamp's tower was the general place of confinement for cases of high treason: but Lady Jane was lodged in one of the warders' houses—in "Maister Partridge's," as stated in a curious old book quoted by Mr. Nichols in his *Leicestershire*. There she was permitted to retain two of her female attendants; and on the next day, the 20th of July, she was called upon by the Marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, to deliver up all the crown jewels, which she did accordingly, or, at least, as many of them as were then in her possession; for we shall find presently that Mary

brought charges for several not given up, but which were probably lost, perhaps pilfered, in the confusion of such a scene.

Within the walls of the Tower all was now silent and solitary—without all was political intrigue and bustle.

The council next assembled at Westminster, from whence they sent a herald with another letter to the Duke of Northumberland, commanding and charging him in the name of Queen Mary to disarm and to disband his troops, forbidding him also to return to the city of London until the queen's pleasure should be known. Similar letters were sent to the Marquess of Northampton, and to all other gentlemen that were with him. The council even went so far as to direct the herald to proclaim in all places, that if the Duke of Northumberland did not submit to Queen Mary, he should be taken as a traitor, and that he should be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of prosecution.

Thus, adds Strype, “the duke saw it in vain to oppose, and so submitted to this order: and the part that his ambition had been framing so long, and with so much art, fell on a sudden.”

A letter, in the collection already quoted, and dated the 22d of July, in reference to those passing occurrences, observes, that “the Duke of Northumberland hath proclaymed my Lady Marye's grace queene at Cambridge; and as the brute (report, *rui*t) goethe;

my Lorde of Huntingdone and the Lorde Marques of Northampton are gonne no man canne tell whether."

All were indeed eager to make their peace with Mary; some boasting of their unbroken loyalty, others endeavouring to excuse the countenance which they had given, by their presence in the Tower, whether voluntary or not, to the short usurpation. Perhaps the best picture of all this policy will be found in the letter written to Mary by the lords of the council, on the evening of her proclamation :

"Our bounden duties most humbly remembred to yur most excellent maj^{tie}, it may lyke the same to understande, that wee yur most humble, faythfull, and obedient subjects haveing allways (God wee take to wytnes) remaynd yur highnes true and humble subjects in our harts, ever sythens the deathe of our late souvraigne lorde and master, yur highnes brother, whom God pardon; and seeing hitherto no possibilitie to utter our determination herin, without greatt destructions and bludeshedd, bothe of ourselves and others till this tyme, have this day proclaymed in your citey of London, your maj^{tie} to bee our true naturall souvraigne, liege ladie and queen, most humblic beseechyng your maj^{tie} to p^{ro}don and remytt our former infirmities, and most graciouslie t^o accept our meanyng, w^{ch} haue byne ever to serve your highnes trulie, and yt shall remayne with all our powers and forces to the

effusion of our bludde. Theis berars, our very good lords the Erle of Arundell and L. Pagett, can and bee redy now particularly to declare to whome, it may please your excellent maj^{tie}, to give firme credence; and thus wee do and shall dayly pray to Allmighty God for the preservation of your most royall p̃son long to reigne from your maj^{ties} citey of London this day of Julie, the fyrst yere of your most prosperous reigne."

There were still a few, however, who had either sinned past all probable hope of pardon, or whose principles would not permit them to change with the times; but even of these some few were allowed to go at large, for as early as the 23d of July, it appears that Mary and her partisans found it necessary to adopt a semblance of mercy and moderation. It is stated in an extract of another letter, that "the Lord Admirall, and the Lords Greye, Garret, Wenman, and the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir Henry Sydney, and Sir James Crosse, with diveres others, have alredy their pardon graunted them. The Duke of Northumberland is in custodie of the garde as a prisoner in Cambridge, and my ladie hys wyfe, the Lord Guilford, and the Lady Jane, are in the Towere as prisoneres; my Lord Marques of Northampton, the Earle of Huntingdune, Sir Henry Gates, and diveres other cannot as yett gett their p̃dones."

Some of these, indeed, it was not intended to pardon ; so that on the 25th, Northumberland and several others, particularly his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, his younger sons, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates and his brother Henry, and Doctor Edwin Sands, were all committed prisoners to the Tower, along with their unhappy friends.

Of these the Earl of Huntingdon was soon discharged ; the Earl of Warwick died in prison, but Lord Ambrose was pardoned ; Sir Andrew Dudley was condemned to death, but pardoned ; and Sands, being discharged, retired to Germany, from whence he returned in happier times, and died Archbishop of York.

On the 26th of July the Marquess of Northampton was committed to the Tower ; was afterwards tried, but received a royal pardon. With him were also brought in the Bishop of London, Ridley, afterwards liberated, but subsequently burned at Oxford for heresy ; and Robert Dudley, a younger son of Northumberland, soon after pardoned, and living to be created Earl of Leicester by Queen Elizabeth, in which character he has recently figured, though not much to his advantage, in the novel of Kenilworth.

It is rather remarkable that Suffolk, if indeed the fact really is so, should have been hitherto at large, at

least not a close prisoner, until the 27th, for on that day he is stated, by various authorities, to have been first committed to the Tower.

If this is correct, his imprisonment may have been now ordered, either by directions from Mary, or in expectation of her immediate arrival in the metropolis; in preparation for which the young Princess Elizabeth came to town two days afterwards, as stated in some letters already quoted. “The Lady Elizabeth’s grace come, the 29th of July, to Somerset-place, well accompanied with gentlemen and others righte strongly, and theare she restede a nighte, and the morowe ensuinge she wente thoroghe Chepeside, to meet the queene’s grace, to London wardes, who is looked for the 3 or 4 of Auguste.”

Though the Duchess of Suffolk was made a prisoner in the first instance, yet it is evident that she did not long remain so, as it is expressly stated by various authorities, that it was at her intercession Suffolk himself was liberated from all restraint as early as the 31st of July; but, though discharged from actual confinement, he was still under engagements to return to prison, whenever the queen should desire it. This intercession of the duchess must have been with the queen herself; for it is not likely that Suffolk would have received such grace from the Earl of Arundel, then constable of the Tower by Mary’s appointment. Indeed, it is well known that Arundel never forgave

Suffolk for the slight put upon him by the repudiation of his daughter to make way for his union with the Lady Frances Brandon ; it is probable, therefore, that Suffolk owed his liberation to the queen, but not so much from affection towards him, as from the general idea that seems to have been entertained of the weakness of his mind, especially in regard to state affairs.

We have already shown the continental politics of the usurping party ; and, though the emperor's duplicity was no longer a matter of consequence, it may still be interesting to observe how soon he began to show his real intentions. We may therefore record, that on the 20th of July the commissioners at Brussels wrote in reply to the council *, that Charles V. was not pleased that Edward had declared the Lady Mary to be illegitimate, thus limiting the succession in opposition to his father's will. It appears that Charles was so incensed at this, that the commissioners could not even procure an audience ; and he even delayed or evaded seeing Mr. Shelley, who had been sent over with an express message from the young queen. The emperor urged as a powerful objection to his acknowledgment of the Lady Jane, independent of the claims of the Lady Mary, that the young queen of Scotland, the ill-fated Mary, was then married to the Dauphin of France, which would naturally lead to claims on the part of the French court, in consequence of her su-

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 523.

perior claim, as descended from the eldest sister of Henry, whilst the Lady Jane was only descended from the youngest. As to the claim of the Lady Mary, in opposition to that of the Lady Jane, he certainly professed moderation: for he only asked that the point should be settled by parliament, expressing a wish at the same time that the Lady Mary should be married to some English nobleman, “so that the realme should remayne in governaunce of poley and religion as it now is.” How far he was sincere in this, at least in regard to religion, may well be doubted; but as to policy, it certainly was his wish to keep up his English connexion; indeed, he even manifested considerable jealousy in consequence of a Mr. Dudley having been sent on a diplomatic mission into France, supposing him to have been Sir Andrew Dudley, and “sent for some practise.”

But the whole farce of duplicity, both on the parts of the emperor and the commissioners themselves, was speedily put an end to, by advices received of the change of politics in England; so that on the 29th of July those gentlemen wrote to Queen Mary’s council * to the following purport:

“Pleasethe it your good lordshippes,—Wheare the Ladye Jane sent Mr. Shelley with letteres and credence to the emperor’s majestie, wee nowe returne them, not

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 523, 46.

havyng delyvered the sayd letteres, ne opened the same credence, for that it hath pleased God to call my Ladye Marye hir grace to the state and possessyone of the realme, according to the kynges majestee her fathers laste wille and the lawes of the realme, wee beinge heare in greate discourrage for that wee cannot knowe the certentye off thes so great and weightie materes but by the reporte of them heare. Moste humbly beseechyng yur lordshippes that wee may not onely be advertyzed of the same, but also that wee maye knowe hir maj^{ties} plesure what wee shuld doe, wherunto wee shall conforme ourselves most willingly accordyng to our most bounden dutye; for newes, . . . the Bushoppe of Norwych, Sir Phillippe Hobby, and Sir Richard Mason, to the Counsell the xxixth of July, 1558."

We have already stated, that Lady Jane's father received an order of release from imprisonment, but on his own bail, on the 31st of July; and in a private letter of that period, of the 2d of August, we find it expressly stated—"On Monday last, the Duke of Suffolk was discharged out of the Tower;" yet another letter, dated the 11th of the same month, says, "The Duke of Suffolk is (as his owne men report) in prison, and at this present in suche case as no man judgeth he can live."

To reconcile these apparent contradictions is not

easy, unless we suppose that the duke's illness prevented him, on receiving the order of release, from leaving the Tower for his own residence: and, of course, that his remaining in that fortress was considered as imprisonment by those who were not aware of the queen's determination in his favour.

The day of Mary's arrival was now approaching, for which every possible preparation was made both by court and city. Grafton, in his Chronicle, describes this event in very few words, merely saying, that "she came to the citie, and so to the Tower, where the Lady Jane of Suffolk, with her husband, the Lord Guilforde, a little before her coming, were committed to warde, and there remayned almost five monethes."

But her progress is more fully detailed in a letter now in the British Museum, which speaks of her "being broughte in with hir nobles very honorably and strongly: the number of velvet coats that did ride before hir, as well strangeres as otheres, was 740; and the number of ladyes and gentlemen that followede was 180. The Earle of Arundell did ride nexte befoare hir, bearinge the swoarde in his hand, and Sir Anthony Browne did beare up his trayne. The Ladye Elizabethhe did followe hir nexte; and after hir the Lord Marques of Exetere's wyfe.

"The gard followed the ladyes, and after them Northampton and Oxfordshir men, and then Buckinghamshir men, and after them the lords servants; the

whole number of horsemen wear esteemed to be about 10,000."

It then goes on to state, that "the queene's grace stayd in Allgate streete, befoare the stage wheare the poore children stood, to hare an oration that one of them made; but she sayd nothinge to them. My Lord Mayor and the aldermen brought her grace into the citti; my Lord Mayor riding next to the Earle of Arrundell with the mase in his hand."

To illustrate the manners of the times we may be permitted further to insert the description given by Stephen Perlin, a French ecclesiastic, and an eye witness; who, though extremely inaccurate in historical information, as appears in another passage, may be supposed correct as to dress and pageantry. He says, that "in the mean time the queen made her public entry into London in great state and magnificence, the citizens' children walking before her magnificently dressed; afterwards followed gentlemen, habited in velvets of all sorts, some black, others in white, yellow, violet, and carnation; others wore satins or taffety, and some damasks of all colours, having plenty of gold buttons; afterwards followed the mayor of the city, with several handsome companies, and the chiefs or masters of the several trades; after them the milors, richly habited, and the most considerable knights; next come the ladies, married and single, in the midst of whom was madam Mary, Queen of England, mounted

on a small white ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed with gold thread; about her were six lacqueys, habited in vests of cloth of gold. The queen herself was dressed in violet coloured velvet, and was then about forty years of age, and rather fresh coloured. Before her were six lords bareheaded, each carrying in his hand a golden mace, and some others bearing the arms and crown. Behind her followed the archers, as well of the first as the second guard.

“ Those of the first guard were clothed in scarlet, bound with black velvet, and on their escutcheons they had a golden rose, which is called in English *Rose peni*, and under this rose was a golden crown, with high leaves, in form of an imperial crown. The second guard were clothed in scarlet, bound with black velvet, and on their escutcheons was interwoven a true-lover's knot, and an E in the middle, and on the other side an R, done in order to make a distinction between the two guards. She was followed by her sister, named Madame Elizabeth, in truth, a beautiful princess, who was also well accompanied by ladies, both married and single. Then might you hear the firing of divers pieces of artillery, bombards, and cannons, and many rejoicings made in the city of London.”

The unhappy Jane, in her lonely cell, was soon apprized of the approach of her rival in regal state towards the place of her confinement, so late her palace;

for the letter already alluded to says, "theare was a greate peale of ordinance shotte off at the Towere;" and it goes on to state, "It is credibly reported that the Duke of Norfolke, Courteney, the Bishope off Winchestre, and my Lady Somerset mette the queenes grace at the Towere gate, and theare they kneclynge downe saluted her grace, and she came unto them, and kissed them and sayd, theis are my prisoners;"—this, however, must have been in jest, for the same letter immediately adds, "Courteney was made Marques of Exetere the 4 of this presente"—which was only a day after. Amongst these prisoners were Bishops Tunstal and Gardiner, and others not so high in rank, whom she liberated; but with Lady Jane she held no communication.

Mary's regal state in the Tower seems to have sat but uneasy upon her; the same letter saying, "Hir grace intendethe to remove unto Windsore one Tusdaye nexte, as I heare saye." And the jealousy which pervaded her mind may be drawn from the following statement:

"The Earle of Pembroke was comaundid to wait upon hir grace when she came to London, and to bringe with him but x men; and, as I heare saye, he broughte xv, whearefoare he had a rebuke. Some saye he is fled, but the truthe I know not. He hathe not byne scene

since Thirsday nyghte, nether can his men tell wheare hee is. My Lord Russell and my Lord Ferrares are in the Sherife of London's custody."

But though she still felt considerable doubts of support at home, expectations of foreign assistance were more secure; yet even there she speedily contemplated some change, at least with regard to her diplomatic residents, notwithstanding the readiness with which the commissioners had turned round, on hearing of her success, with respect to Lady Jane's fall from regal power.

The despatch which announced this change of men and measures is such a curious specimen of intrigue, duplicity, and policy, depriving the commissioners of their offices, yet apparently fearful of offending, or of alarming them, that we shall give it entire, as the first fruits of that double-faced system of mental reservation so accordant with the spirit of the revived religious politics of that day; for in Mary's reign religion and politics were never separated.

"Aftere our most hartye comandacones Albeit you shall understand bothe by the queenes highnes instructiones and otherwise by declaracon of this bearrer Sir Thomas Cheyney, Knighte of the Order, Treasurere of his maj^{ty} household and warden of the fyve portes, her graces pleasur touchynge the placing of

you the Bushope of Norwiche to be hir highnes ambassadore resydenste with the emperor, and also touchynge the revocasyon of you, *Mr. Hobby* and *Mr. Morysone*, yet hathe her highnes willed us also by thes our letteres to sygnifie unto you that consyderinge the long aboade and the small freite that hathe hither unto ensued of your traville, her highnes thinkethe expedyente that you *Mr. Hobby* and *Mr. Morysone* shold returne to her highnes presense, and att the takynge off your leave, her highnes speccially requirethe you to say that yff her highnes dide see or myghte understande any lyklyhoode that your longer aboade myghte bring forth the any fruit for that godly purpos you weare sente for, shee wold be most glade not onelye to haue you contynue but wold most redylye send some other psonage joined with you for the treaty and conductynge the same towards a good conclusyn; but consyderynge that hitherto it hathe not pleased Almighty God to moue the harte of them to concorde, shee dothe therfore revoke you for this tyme remaynynge, neverthelesse most redie to send either you or some otheres for that purpos when shee may understande the tyme to serve bettere for that purpos and usynge suche good wordes as you may thinke better to declare hir highnes most earnesteste desyre bothe to the continuance off the amytie and pacifyinge off theis warres. You *Mr. Hobby* and *Mr. Morysone* shall with dilligence repair to hir highnes presense, and you

the Bushoppe of Norwiche shall attend your charge of hir graces ambassadeure residente accordinge to hir highnes instructyones and spessyall truste reposed in you, advertysing hir maj^{te} from tyme to tyme of suche occurants as may seeme worthie knowledge. And so wee byd you most hartelye farewell. From the Tower of London, the 5^h daye of August, 1553. Subscribed by

ARUNDELL.

STEVEN WINTON.

JO. WENTWORTH.

R. RICHE.

W. PAGET."

ROBT. ROCHESTER.

R. SOUTHWELL.

W. PEETOR.

A few days afterwards a letter was also written by the new queen's council, signed by Bedford and Shrewsbury, to certain commissioners, to continue Dr. Wootton as ambassador at the court of France.

'The joy of the catholics on the accession of Mary may be drawn from the observations of Stephen Perlin, the French ecclesiastic already quoted, who says that the queen "caused the images to be replaced, and brought back the service to the Latin language, and made several proclamations, edicts, and prohibitions throughout all England, against eating of flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, on pain of being hanged and strangled. And then you might have seen those which had been bishops, who had been displaced by the young King Edward, and his late father Henry, coming in

great joy and magnificence about the town, mounted on mules and little pompous horses, dressed in great gowns of black camlet, over which were beautiful surplices, their heads covered with satin hoods, like those worn by the monks, being joyous on account of the queen's victory."

In these new arrangements the queen and her partisans were rather too hasty; for, notwithstanding that the great body of the people were as yet far from being well grounded in the reformed faith, and notwithstanding all the joy expressed by the people in favour of her accession, it is evident that the public opinion was by no means in consonance with her religious sentiments. The same correspondence already quoted states, that on the 11th of August "an ould preeste sayd masse at St. Bartholmewes; but after that masse was done, the people wold have pulled him in pieces;" and, on the 13th, when Mary went to St. Paul's to hear mass, and a sermon preached by Bourne, a violent catholic, such was the public feeling, or at least the sentiments of some, that a dagger was thrown at the preacher with such force, though uncertain direction, that it stuck fast in a side post of the pulpit.

We shall describe the scene from Perlin, already quoted, who, although a catholic, and, as his work shows, strongly embued with prejudices against England, yet seems to speak the truth in many points, as

far as his own marked ignorance and conceit will permit him. Of this first visit to St. Paul's he says, "the queen, being in triumph and royal magnificence in her palace and castle of Oycemestre, (Westminster) took it into her head to go to hear mass at Paules, that is to say, at the church of S^t Paul, and she was attended by six hundred guards, besides the Cere, that is to say, the servants of both '*lors*' and nobles. In English, the word *lers* means lords. The milors are princes of the council, and those nearly allied to the crown; these we in French barbarously call milours, but in English they are styled *milors*, as those well know who have visited this country, and speak good English. These servants carried halberts. It happened that an Englishman, during mass, threw a dagger at the priest, making a great tumult; mass not having been celebrated in this country for six or seven years. This man was immediately seized, indicted, and tried, and on the spot instantly condemned to death. There was also in my time another disturbance in a little church in the borough of Southwark, respecting a priest, who narrowly escaped being killed whilst saying mass. The queen made use of such horrible punishments, and by the effusion of blood so established her authority, that every body was astonished and terrified at remaining in the kingdom." But we anticipate; let us therefore return to the 20th of August, when Dr. Watson was appointed to preach at St. Paul's, but afraid to ascend the pulpit without a

strong guard to keep off the audience, some of whom he suspected, from Bourne's affair, might perhaps become *actors*.

Of this we find the following curious relation in the correspondence so often alluded to: "One Sundaye last was a sermone at Pole's Crosse, made by one Doctor Watsons. Theare was at this sermone the Marques of Winchestre, the Earle of Bedforde, the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Riche; they did sitte wheare my lord mayor and the aldermen wear wonte to sette: my lord maiere sittinge uppermoste. Thear was also in the windowe over the mayor the ould Bushoppe of London and diveres otheres. Thear was 120 of the gard that stooode round about the crosse, with their halberdes, to gard the preachere, and to apprehende them that would stirre. His sermone was no more eloquent than edifying; I mene it was nether eloquent nor edifyinge in my opinione, for he medled not withe the gospelle nor epistle, nor noe parte of scripture. After he had red his theame, he entred into a by mattere, and so spent his tyme. 4 or 5 of the cheefe pointes of his sermone that I cane remember I will as breefly as I can reporte unto you, vilz. he requirede the people not to beleewe the preachers, but that ther faithe should be firme and shure, because there is suche varieties amongeste them; and iff any man doubte of his faithe, let him goe to the scriptures, and also to the olde interpreters of the same, and interprit it not aftere their owne

brayne. He wished the people to have no newe faithe, nor to bulde no newe temple, but to keepe the olde faithe, and reedifye the old temple againe. He blamed the people in a maner for that heartfoare they would haue nothinge that was manes tradisshon, and nowe they can be contentyd to haue manes tradisshon, shewinge that in the firste yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lorde King Edward the 6, theare was a lawe established, that in the sacrament thear was the bodie and bloode of Christe, not really but spirituallie, and the next yeare after they established another lawe, that thear was the body of Christe nether spiritually nor really. Thes 2 in themselves are contraries, thearfore they cannot be bothe trewe. He shewed that we should ground our faithe uppon God's word, which is scripture, and scripture is the byble, which wee have in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latinne, and nowe translated into English; but he doubtethe the translatyon was not true. Also he sayd theare hathe byne in his tyme that he hathe seen xx catechesemes, and everi one varinge from other in some pointe, and well he sayd they might be all false, but they could not be true; and thus psuadin the people that they had followed menes tradisshones, and had gonne astraye; wishin them to come home agayne and reedefy the olde temple. Thus, with many other pswasioncs, he spente the tyme tyll xi of the clocke, and ended."

These persuasions, however, had little effect; and

another mode was tried.—“Diveres marchantes to the number of 14 or 15, were by the counsellis comaunde to come to the queenes chappell, and theare to tarrye tyll masse was done.”

Another letter, speaking of Watson's preaching, says, “ Upon Sundaye, the 20 off Auguste, theare preached at Poules Crosse one named Walles: and to keepe and preserve him from the enemyes, theare weare with their holbordes about 200 of the garde; the lyke was never seene; and as for altres and masses, are in buildinge faster than ever they weare put downe.”

Another letter of the 1st of September says, that “ all the altres at Poules are up, and all the oulde service sayd in Lattin; and almost throughout London the same.” Yet it was not without some struggle, apparently, on the part of the protestant, or reformed divines; for the same letter adds, that “ the Bushop of Canterbury, Hooper, the Bushop of London, and diverse other, are together in disputacyon dayly at their owne houses; but what is done amongeste them I cannot learne.” And, a day or two after, appears the following passage:

“ At London is kept diveres disputacyones in the consistorye place in Poules, with the bushopes. Bushop Cox must dispute on mondaye nexte in the same place, upon diveres articles; but what they bee I cannot yet learne.

“ The masse is very riffe.

“ By turninge the bookes of the Guildhall, I have founde theare was comaundmente gevene from the mayere to the aldermene of every warde to call befoare them the preeste of every parish church within theare wardes, and to geve them in comaundemente that they should not preache nor reade any scripture or other lectures, other than the devine service appoyntede, tyll they heare further.”

In the midst of these scenes of alarm to the friends of the reformation, Queen Mary's friends prided themselves much upon their loyalty towards her; and one of them, by the name of Richard Troughton, a Lincolnshire man, addressed a memoir to the privy council; perhaps one of the most curious political documents in existence, and indeed a fair prototype of the well known “ P. P. clerk of the parish.” It is in the British Museum*, but much too long for insertion here; one short extract must therefore suffice.

“ Hit may plese yo^r honorable lordeshypis to be advysed that upon wensday the xith day of July, in the firste yere of the moste gracious raign of the quenes majestie, I Richard Troughton, of South Walshen, in the countie of Lincoln, and John Dove, constable of the same towne, the saide day and yere standinge together at the comon watering place then called hedgedyke, lately scoured for catall to drink att, that I the said Troughton called on James Prate to

* Harl. Coll. No. 6222.

me, which Pratte was newe come whome, and asked of hyme howe he liked the newe scowered wartering place; and he answered well, and desyred God to thank the doers therof for hit was the best dede, said he, that he knewe done in that towne many yeres before. And afterwards the same Prate asked me what newes I had harde of Kynge Edward; and I answered hym none at all; and Prate said the kynge was dede, and that I knewe well enough; and I denyed hit, for I knew hit not at that tyme in dede. Wherfor I demaunded of hyme howe hee dyd knowe his graces to be departed? And he said it was to trewe, for the quenes hynes was flede into Northefolke, and lay at Mr. Hurlstones house by the waye. Than I said, O worthe Kynge William that ever he was borne; speaking thes wordes by the late Duke of Northumberland, who was causer of the quenes flying, for his father was a treator, and he was a very wyllayn, and his father wold have kyllled the kyngs father, Kynge Henry the Eighte, and the good kynge was departed by lyke. That o worthe the same willayn that ever he was borne, for I fred he wold go aboutghte to destroye the noble blode of England, wherfor I drewe out my dagger in the syghte of the said John Dove and Jannys Prate, and wissed hit at the wyl-layns hart with my hande att hit, as harde as I culde thruste p̄sently face to face, and body to body, what so ever be came of my body, and desyred Gods place

to lyghte upon hyme, and that he myghte have a shortelyfe: and preyed God to saue the quene's majestie, and to delyver hir grace from hym. Wherupon the said Dove plucked me secretly by the coat, and s^d he wold speke with me; and so we went away from Prate. And Dove advysed me to beware what I said agaynste the duke, for I knewe that Prate was not my frende, and that he wold make the woorst of hit. I answered Dove, with my dagger drawn, agayne rehersyng the words above mencyoned. I have said hit, and I wulle saye hit wylls I lyve. And further I said, that Dove shulde see hyme sortely come to his fatheres deth, for his father was behedded, and soe I trusted he shulde be or his was longe to. And so being a sorrowfull man for the troble, I departed, and bade theym farewell at the time."

Mr. Troughton then procceds "to tell his story thus" through many pages, often repeating his oaths and drawing his dagger in threats against Northumberland.

But it was not in the humble walks of life alone that vanity and time-serving were conspicuous; for many names, now illustrious, might be adduced as instances of unmanly bending to the storm.

This double-minded, or rather cowardly part, which some of the principal agents performed in this affair, cannot perhaps be more fully illustrated than in "a breff note of my submission, and declaracion of

my doings," written by Sir W. Cecill, and preserved in the Lansdown MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 104. 2.

" 1. First, my submission with all lowlynes that my harte can conceive.

" 2. My misliking of the matter when I herd it secretly ; wheruppon I made conveyance awaye of my landes, pte of my goodes, my leases, and my rayement.

" 3. I also determyned to suffer, for saving my conscience, wherof the witnesses Sir Anthony Cooke, Nicholas Bacon, Esq. Laurence Eresby of Louthe, eleven of my sute, Roger Alford, and William Cayewood.

" 4. Of my ppose to stand against the matter, be also witnesses Mr. Petre and Mr. Cheke.

" 5. I did refuse to subscribe the booke, when none of the counsell did refuse: in what perill I refer it to be considered by the who know the duke.

" 6. I refused to make a proclamation: and turned the labour to Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience I sawe was troobled therwith, misliking the matter.

" 7. I eschewed the wrytyng of the queene's highnes bastard, and therefore the duke wrote the lre himself, weh was sett forth in the realme.

" 8. I eschewed to be at the drawing of the proclamation for the publishing of the usurper's title, being specially appoynted therto.

" 9. I avoyded the answer of the queene's highnes lre.

“ 10. I avoyded also the wrytinge of all the public lres to the realme.

“ 11. I wrote no lre to the L. Lawerr as I was comāded.

“ 12. I dissēbled the taking of my horse, and the rysinge of Lincolnshyre, and Northamptonshyre, and avowed the pardonable lye where it was suspected to my dangr.

“ 13. I practised with the L. treasurer to wyn the L. pve seale, that I myght by the L. Russel's meanes cause Wyndsore Castle to serve the quene; and they 11 to levy the west ptes for the quenes service. I have the L. treasurer's lre to L. St. John, for to kepe me saffe if I cold not p̃rvaile in the enterprize of Wyndsore Castle, and my name was fayned to be Hardinge.

“ 14. I did oppose my selfe to y^e Erle of Arundell, whō I found therto disposed; and likewise I did the like to the L. Darcy, who herd me with good cōtentaciō, wherof I did imediately tell Mr. Petre, for both our comforte.

“ 15. I did also determine to flee from them, if y^e consultation had not taken effect, as Mr. Petre can tell, who meant the like.

“ 16. I p̃posed to have stollen downe to the quenes highnes, as Mr. Goswold can tell, who offered to lede me thither, as I knewe not the waye.

“ 17. I had my horses redy at Lambeth for the p̃pose.

“ 18. I procured a līc from the lords that the quenes tenants of Wȳbledon should not goe with Sir Thomas Caverden, and yet I never gaue one man warning so much as to be in a redynes, and yet they sent to me for the p̄pose, and I willed them to be quiett. I might as shurely there make for the quenes service an hundred men to serve.

“ 19. When I sent into Lincolnshyre for my horses, I sent but for v horses and viii of my servants; and charged y' none of my tenāts should be styrred.

“ 20. I caused my horses, being indede but xii, to be taken upp in Northāptōshyre, and the next daye following I cōtermāded thē agayne by my līes, remayning in the cōtry, and notoriously ther knowne.

“ 21. When this cōspyacy was first oppened to me I did fully set me to flee the realme, and was dissuaded by Mr. Cheke, who willed me for my satisfaction to rede a dialoge of Plato, where Socrates, being in p̄son, was offred to escape and flee, and yet he wold not. I redd the dialoge, whose reasons indede did stay me.

“ Fynally, I beseeche hir highnes that in hir grace I maye fele some differēce frō others that have more playnely offended, and yet be partakers of hir highnes boūtiefulness and grace; and if difference maye be made I do differ frō them who I served; and also frō them that had libtye after there enforcemēt to depart, by meanes whereof they did both like noble mē and true

subjects shew the dueties to their sovrain lady. The like wherof was my devotion to have done, if I might have had the like libtye, as knoweth God, the sercher of all harts, whose indignation I call upon me if it be not true :

“ Justus adiutorius meus Dños q salvos facit rectos cord :

“ God saue the queene in all fælicite.

W. CECILL.”

In perfect unison with this conduct on the part of Cecill, is a fact trifling in itself, yet whimsical from its connexion with these events. In the Lansdown Collection, now in the British Museum, No. 1236, Art. 15, is a letter from Lady Jane to the Marquess of Northampton, announcing her entry into possession, &c. and requiring his allegiance, and defence of her title against what she calls “ the fayned and untrewē clayme of the Lady Marye, bastard daughter to our great uncle Henry theight, of famous memory.” This letter is dated from the Tower, on the 10th of July, and appears to have come afterwards into the hands of Cecill, who has indorsed it, “ Jane, non Regina,” and carefully erased its superscription, but not in such a manner as to prevent its being read. It is not our wish, however, to be too severe upon that great statesman. Life is sweet to all men, and when the exposure of it to danger cannot be followed by any good results, allowances must be made. Still we cannot help observing,

that if Cecill was the friend of Mary, he ought in the first instance to have braved the violence of Northumberland, both for loyalty and conscience sake. If he were not the friend of Mary, then he ought to have acted with more courage in favour of the cause which he had espoused, and thereby have saved himself, supposing the others equally intrepid, from the necessity of tergiversation and of denying his faith, whilst crouching to a tyrant, and to a tyrannical priesthood.

But terror was the order of the day, and fear was its concomitant ; for though Mary affected clemency towards the great mass of her opponents, yet it was sufficiently known that she intended to make a striking example of some of the leaders.

In fact, such was the public opinion in regard to that point, that we find a convincing proof of it in a letter of the date of the 5th of August, which says, “ I hard saye this daye that the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Marques of Dorset, of Northampton, the Earle of Huntington, Sir John Gate, and Mr. Palmer, wear alredie condemned to die.”

This report was, indeed, rather premature ; but the fate of Northumberland was, perhaps, even then decided on, his trial and that of some others being ordered for the eighteenth of August. The whole proceedings are thus recorded in a book of the lords-stewards of England, and of the trials before them*.

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 2194, p. 22.

“ Thomas, Duke of Norfolke, sitting as High-Steward of Englande, on the eighteenth day of August were brought before him, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, William Parre, Marquesse of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke, sonne to the Earle of Northumberland.

“ The Duke of Northumberland, at his cominge to the barre, used greate reverence towards the judges, and protestinge his ffaith and obedience to the queene’s mātty, whome he confessed greivously to have offended, he said, That he meant not to speake any thinge in defence of himselfe; but would first understand the opinion of the courte on two points.

“ First, whether a man dooinge an acte by the authority of the prince and counselle, and by warrant of the greate scale of England, and dooinge nothinge without the same, may bee charged for treasone for any thinge wch hee mighte doe by warrant thereof?

“ Secondly, whether any such p̄sons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose lētres and commandements he was directed in all his dooinges might bee his judges, or passe upon his tryall att his death?

“ Whereunto was answered, that as concerninge the firste, the greate scale, wch hee layd for his warrant, was not the scale of the lawfull queene of the realme, nor passed by authority; but the scale of an usurper, and therefore would bee noe warrant for him.

“ And to the second it was alleadged, that if any were as deeply to bee touched as himselfe in that case ; yet as longe as noe atteinder were of recorde against them, they were neverthelesse p̃sones able in the lawe, to passe upon any tryall, and not to be challenged therefore but att the princes pleasure.

“ After wch answere the duke usinge some wordes, declared his earnestest repentance in the case (for hee saw that to stande upon utteringe any reasonable matter could little p̃vaile), and moved the Duke of Norfolk to bee a meanes unto the queene for mercy, and without further answere confessed the indictment, by whose example alsoe the other prisoners arraigned with him did likewise confesse the indictment produced against them, and therupon had judgement.

“ The judgement being prōunced, hee craved favor of such a death as was executed on noblemen, and not the other : hee beseeching alsoe that a favourable regard might bee had of his children in respect of their age, and that hee might bee p̃mitted to conferre with some learned divine for the settling of his conscience ; and, lastly, that her ma^{tie} would bee pleased to send unto him foure of her counsell for the discovery of some things which might conserne the state.

“ The Marquesse of Northampton pleaded to his indictment, That after the beginninge of these tumults he had forborne the execusion of any publique office, and that all the while hee, intente to huntinge and other sports, did not p̃take in the conspiracy ; but it

being manifest that hee was p̃ty with the Duke of Northumberland, sentence passed on him likewise. •

“ The Earle of Warwicke fyndinge that the judges in soe greate a cause admitted noe excuse of age, wth greate resoluçõ heard his condemnaçõ pronounsed against him: cravinge only this favour, that whereas the goods of those who are condemned for treason are totally confiscated; yet her ma^{tie} would bee pleased that out of them his debts might be payd. After this they were all returned to the Tower.”

We may add, from another authority, that when Dudley implored the mercy of the court, or rather of the queen, towards his unhappy children, he had the generosity and liberality to assure them that the Lady Jane, so far from aspiring to the crown, was rather “ by enticement and force made to accept it !”

This is a testimony, and a most forcible one too, of her good sense, which fully confirms what we have already stated in a former section.

The public clamour and rejoicing upon Northumberland's condemnation were considered by the court party as an approval of their cause, when in fact they were merely produced by the personal unpopularity of the individual himself; for it must not be forgotten, that when the Duke of Somerset perished on the scaffold, in 1551, through the intrigues of Northumberland, as commonly supposed, the people

were so generally persuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as it fell from the block, considering him as a martyr. These were treasured up with great care; and now, whilst the duke was leading back to the Tower, a woman shook one of the bloody handkerchiefs at him, crying out, "Behold, the blood which thou didst cause to be unjustly shed does now apparently begin to revenge itself on thee!"

When Northumberland was committed to the Tower, he was lodged in that part called Beauchamp's Tower, anciently the place of confinement for state prisoners*, and which has recently been converted into a mess-room for the officers of the garrison. When alterations were making for this purpose, a great number of inscriptions were discovered on the walls of the room, which probably have, for the most part, been made with nails, and are all of them, it should seem, the undoubted autographs, as Mr. Brand, Secretary to the Antiquarian Society, imagines, of the several illustrious and unfortunate tenants of this once dreary mansion.

Amongst these memorials is the device of Dudley most curiously done, a plate of which is given in the *Archæologia*, consisting of a bear and ragged staff, with a lion rampant, surrounded by well sketched foliage of roses, acorns, &c.

* *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 68.

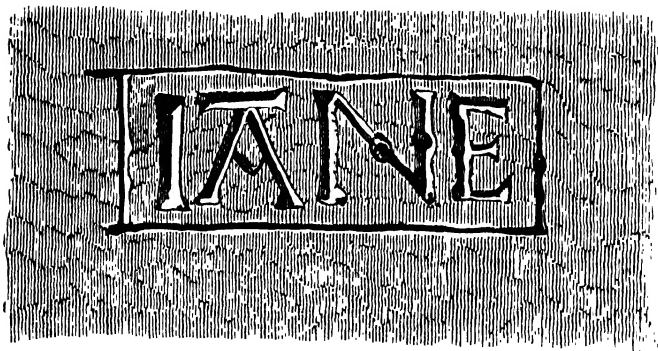


His name, in the spelling of the age, is under the device ; and below are four lines, evidently punning upon his own misfortunes and his brother Ambrose's name.

YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLD AND SE
MAY DEME WITHE EASE WHEREFORE MADE THEY BE
WITHE BORDERS EKE WHERIN.....

A BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROVN

This device and inscription appear not to have been quite finished before he was led forth to execution ; but on different sides of the apartment the word



appears cut in the same manner. Mr. Brand very justly supposes this to be intended for the royal title of the amiable and unfortunate daughter-in-law of Northumberland ; and he remarks, that she had, perhaps, a latent meaning in this repetition of her signature *Jane*, by which she at once styled herself a queen, and intimated that not even the horrors of a prison could force her to relinquish that title. But such a feeling is not in consonance with facts which we have had occasion to record of her ; besides it is known that she was lodged in a different apartment, in the house of one Partridge, as already noticed.

Indeed Mr. Brand remarks, that although it is stated in the *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, vol. iv. p. 129, that on the wall of the room in which she was

imprisoned in the Tower she wrote with a pin these lines :

“ Non aliena putes homini quod obtingere possunt :
Sors hodierna mihi cras erit illa tibi.”

“ ‘To mortals’ common fate they must resign,
My lot to-day, to-morrow may be thine’—

yet no vestiges of such inscription were discovered in making the alterations in this apartment in Beauchamp’s Tower ; a circumstance perfectly compatible with her confinement in another place, and therefore verifying Mr. Nichol’s supposition, that the name was thus written by Northumberland himself from ostentation, or perhaps a better feeling ; as the letters resemble much those of his own autograph ; not only in the specimen already given, but in another.—

ITANE

Mary was determined to allow but little time to her victims ; for on the nineteenth, or the day after, the Duke of Northumberland received intelligence of his intended execution, on which he instantly sent the following letter to the Earl of Arundel*.

“ Honble Lord, and in this my distress my especial

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 787, p. 61.

refuge, most wofull was the newes I receyved this evenyng by Mr. Lieutenant, that I must prepare my selfe agst to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good lord, is my cryme so heynous as noe redemp̃son but my blood can washe awaye the spottes therof? An old proverbe ther is, & y^t most true, y^t a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh! that it would please her good grace to give me life, yea the life of a dogge, if I might but lyve and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honble services, as I have the best part already under her worthie brother, and most glorious father. Oh! that her mercy were such as she would consyder how little proffitt my dead and dismemberd body can bringe her; but how great and glorious an honor it will be in all posterityes when the report shall be that soe gracious and mightie a queene had graunted life to soe miserable and penitent an object. Your honble usage and promise to me since these my troubles have made me bold to challenge this kindnes at your handes. Pardon me if I haue done amiss therin, and spare not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. The God of Heaven, it may be, will requite one day, on you or yours. And if my life be lengthened by your mediacion, and my good Lord Chancellor's (to whom I haue also sent my blurred letters), I will ever owe it to be spent at your honble feet. Oh! good my lord, remember how sweet life is, and how bitter the contrary. Spare

•

not your speech and paines, for God, I hope, hath not shutt out all hopes of comfort from me in that gracious; princely, and womanlike hart: but that as the doleful newes of death hath wounded to death both my soule and bodye, soe the comfortable newes of life shall be as a new resurrection to my wofull hart. But if no remedy can be founde, eyther by imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, and the like, I can saye noe more but God graunt me patyence to endure, and a heart to forgiue the whole world.

Once your fellowe and lovinge companion,
but now worthy of noe name but wretched-
nes and misery.

J. D."

This application was of no avail; so that we have only to record that the same Lord Steward's book, already quoted, further states, that "On the two and twentieth of the same moneth (Augt) the duke wth the rest, S^r Thomas Palmer and S^r John Gates, haveing two dayes before received the sacramente of the Lord's supper, were delivered to the Sheriffes of London by S^r John Gage, Lieutenaunte of the Tower; when the duke and Sir John Gates mett, 'S^r John,' said the duke, 'God haue mercy on us, for this day shall end both o^r lives, and I pray you forgive mee whatsoever I haue offended, and I forgiue you with all my hearte.

Although you and yo^r counsell was a greate occasion therof.' ' Well, my lord,' quoth Sir John Gates, ' I forgiue you all, as I would be forgiven, and yet you and yo^r authority was the originell cause of it altogether, but the lord ꝑdon you and I pray you forgiue mee;' and soe either makinge obeysance to other the duke proceeded. And when he came upon the scaffold, puttinge of his gowne of swane coloured damask, leaned upon the east rayle makeing his owne funerall oration to the people; acknowledged himselfe guilty, and craveinge ꝑdon for his unseasonable boldnes and ambition, admonished the assembly that they should embrace the religion of their forefathers, rejectinge that of latter date, weh had occasioned all the miseries of the aforepast thirty years, and for ꝑvention of the future, if they desire to ꝑsent their soules unspotted unto the Lord, and were truly affected to their countrey, they should expell those trumpets of sedition, the preachers of the reformed religion. As for himselfe, whater hee might ꝑtend, his conscience was fraught with the religion of his fathers, and for testimony herof he appealed to his greate freinde the Bishopp of Winchester: but being blinded with ambition, was contente to make wracke of his conscience, by temporizing, for which hee professed himselfe sincerely penitent, and acknowledged the desert of his death.

Having spoaken thus muche hee craved the

charitable devotions of the assembly, and commending his soule to God, prepared his body for the stroke of the axe."

This testimony on the scaffold in favour of a return to the Roman Catholic religion is most extraordinary ; particularly when we add to it another fact, as positively asserted, in that private correspondence which we have had occasion so frequently to quote :

" On Monday laste the Duke of Northumberland, the Marques of Northampton, Sir John Gates, and otheres hard masse verie devoutlie in the Towere, and theare receaved the sacrament even as they weare wonte 40 yeares ago."

This apparent compliance, however, with Mary's arbitrary commands, had but little effect as to the fate of these unhappy men ; for the same letter goes on to state, " This presente daye the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Mr. Palmere came to execution, and suffered deathe. The duke's confessyon was in effecte but lytle, as I hard saye ; hee confessyd himselfe worthy to dye, and that hee was a greate helper in off this religion, which is false, whearefore God had p̄nished us with the loss King H. 8. and also with the loss of Kinge Ed. y^e 6. ; then withe rebellyon, and aftere withe the swetyng sicknes, and yet we would

not turne; requyringe them all that weare presente to remember the ould learninge, thankyng God that he would vutsafe to call him nowe to be a chrystiane, for thes 16 yeares he had byn none."

This writer then says, "Thear weare a greate nomber turned with his worde. He wished every man not to be covetous, for that was a greate pte of his destruction. He was asked further, yff he had any thinge more to saye; and he sayd nothings but that he was worthie to die, and so was moare than he. But he cam to dye and not to accuse any man; and thus bouldly he spak tylle he layd his head on the blocke.

"Litle moare in effecte was sayd by any of the reste, saving Mr. Palmer sayd he had byne a vicious lyvere."

How far these confessions proceeded from fear of torture is a fair matter of doubt, when we read the next following sentence, "The Duke of Norfolke gaue the Duke of Northumberlande his judgmente; *theare wente no quesťn on him*, for he confessed the inditement." The word "quesťn" evidently alluding to the *rack* *!

* A very curious and even amusing jumble of the transactions at this period, has been given by that clever but conceited Frenchman, Stephen Perlin, already quoted, which deserves particular notice. It was first printed at Paris, in 1558: and afterwards translated into English, an extract of which we subjoin from the *Antiq. Rep.* iv. 501.

"Good God! what a sedition was I witness to! It happened that King Edward was sick at the castle of Grenois (Green-

But a fuller account of this affair is given in another letter, which states, that “ The Duke of Northumber-

wich); his illness lasted three months, at the expiration of which he died. Then might you every where behold the people trembling, groaning, and beating their breasts; then were all the milors much troubled, not knowing what steps to take. Hereupon milor Notombellant called together all the chief nobility, called lors, and set forth in several speeches that Henry the Eighth, King of England, had several wives, of which one was the mother of Madam Mary, who then pretended to the crown, and who is at present queen, whose mother having been found guilty of adultery, was condemned by the privy council of England, and all her posterity bastardized, and deprived of all claims to royalty; and that thereupon the king had, by his last will, directed that his young son should be king, without having any regard to the Madam Marie and Madam Elizabeth, his daughters, which will was signed by the hand of the said Henry the Eighth, and approved and confirmed by an arret; of which will the Duke of Notombellant availed himself, and remonstrated to the council that his daughter ought to be queen, and that she was, by her mother's side, nearly allied to the crown; for, different from all kingdoms. the females here succeed to the throne. Many milors sided with him, and principally the duke of Suphor, the milor Arondelle, and the milor Marquis; and the said Notombellant caused his daughter, named Madam Jane, to be proclaimed queen of the country, who, as I have before said, was married to milor Suphor. At her proclamation, the people neither made any great feasts, nor expressed any great satisfaction, neither was one bonfire made. The milor Notombellant set out to apprehend Madam Mary, in order to bring her prisoner to the castle of the Tower; and took with him the Duke of Suphor, the milor Arondelle, and the milor Marquis, accompanied with fourteen or fifteen hundred horse.

“ But here fortune proved adverse to him and his enterprize: for being abandoned by his people, the poor prince, he and the Duke of Suphor, and the milor Arondelle, were ignominiously

land, the Marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke weare arraynid, the 18 daye of August, the

and basely taken prisoners, without having struck one stroke, or shewed themselves men of courage. This behaviour was undoubtedly very pusillanimous. They were conducted to the castle of the Tower, under an escort of about eight hundred men. The poor prince was ill advised; he ought, notwithstanding any opposition that might have been made against him, to have sent milor Arondelle to take possession of the castle of d'Ovre (Dover), the good man Suphor to occupy the Tower, the milor Marquis to the castle at Ric, and his son-in-law to some other port, which he might have easily effected; for I am certain that the whole kingdom trembled at his nod: and he, on the other hand, ought to have given battle to the queen, and have drawn to his party this seditious and noisy people, by the promises of money, which he might without difficulty have done, for the deceased king left treasure in the Tower. But God, who alone distributes victories, would not permit it; and cities are in vain guarded by great captains and armed men, if God does not protect them; wherefore in the government of a kingdom, God ought to be implored on all occasions, he being our most faithful guardian, which the royal prophet, David, has well taught us. The afore-mentioned prisoners were taken to the Tower. The mob called the milor Notumbellant vile traitor, and he furiously eyed them with looks of resentment. Two days afterwards he was taken by water in a little bark to Ousemestre (Westminster), a royal palace, principally to indiet and try him; his trial was not long, for it did not last more than fifteen days at most; and he, the Duke of Suphor, and the milor Arondelle were condemned by an arret of council to be beheaded in an open place before the castle of the Tower; and they had all three the pain of seeing one under the hands of an hangman, before whom a whole kingdom had trembled, which, reader, was a lamentable spectacle. This hangman was lame of a leg, for I was present at the execution, and he wore a white apron like a butcher. This great lord made great lamentations and complaints at his death, and said this prayer in English,

Duke of Norfolke, for that tyme Lord Stewarde of England. The duke confessed the indictments, and, was ajudged to be drawne, hanged, and his quarters to be hanged about London; so likewise was the Marques. The Earle of Warwicke, upon his indictment, asked whether the acte of a kinge, confirmed by his counselle, in suche a case may stande or noe; which beinge affirmed negatively, he then answered, Lord have mercy uppon me; and so condempned weare returned to the Towere.

“On Satterdaye beinge the 19^h daye of Auguste, was arraigned Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmere, and weare lykewise all condemned.

“Then one Thursday, the 22^d of August, the Duke of Northumberland was behedded at the Towere hill. The daye befoare he did heare masse in the Towere very devoutly, which when he had done, he stood up in the mideste of suche as weare theare and sayd with a loud voyse, that for 16 yeares befoare that tyme he thoughte he had not served God truly, and throwing himself on his knees, looking up to Heaven, and exclaiming tenderly, *Lorde God mi fatre prie fort ous poore siners noud rand in the hoore of our teath*: which is to say, *in French*, “Lord God my father, pray for us men and poor sinners, and principally in the hour of our death.” After the execution you might see little children gathering up the blood which had fallen through the slits in the scaffold on which he had been behedded. In this country the head is put upon a pole, and all their goods confiscated to the queen.”

that the puttinge downe of the masse was the greatest thoughte that ever he tooke for any thinge; and that yff it had pleased God to haue graunted him lyfe, and had remained in authority, he would have put it downe himselfe ever one yeare had come to an ende; and added, that for to winne the harte of the cittezenes of London, because they loved newe thinges, he would not befoare do it. And when he came to the scaffold, aftere his protestacon, openly thear he willed all people for to imbrace the most sacred and holy masse, whearin (quoth he) is the true administration of the very true bodie and blood aftere the consecration (this, quoth he, is my faithe), and do pray you all to bear me witnes, that is this true faithe, which is the faithe of our mother the holy church, comaunded by the mouthe of our Lord God, unto whom I commit my sowle, and willinge all the people once moare for to imbrace the same, and so made himselfe redy to the deathe, threatening the people of England with the affaires of Geermanye which have byne since in greate murder and slaughter, and kneelynge one his knees sayd a prayer, and after that the Psallme De Profundis.

“ Then cam Sir John Gates, who at his comyng up prayed the people to praye for him, saying, that he had offended, and thearfoare was come thyther to dye, and so made and didd and prepared himselfe for the blocke.

“ Then cam Sir Thomas Palmere, who, whenn hee was uppon the scaffold put off his cape to the auditory,

and sayd, God give you all good morrowe, and diveres did byd him good morrowe againe : and he replied and sayd, I doe not doubte but that I have a good morrowe, and shall have a better good even. Good friends (quoth he) I am com hether to dye, for I have lyved heare under a lawe and haue offended the same ; and for my so doing the same lawe findeth me guilty, hathe condemned me to ende heare my lyfe this daye, for the which I geve God thankes, in that he hath shewed me the thinges which I have seene, and which also I knowe to be just and trewe, and that is this, I have since my coming out of yonder place, (poynting to the Towere) seene with myne eyes my Redeemere sittinge at y^e ryght hand of God the father, in glorie and majestie equally, whose powere is infinite, and in whom whoso putteth his truste shall never be deceaved ; and as he is almighty, so can he doe what he listeth, and to whom he will, and when he will, and that none in the heven above, nor in the earthe beneath, can or maye let his determinate wille, by whom I lyve, by whom I am, and in whom I truste to live eternally. I have, as some of you doe knowe, good people, byne a man not altogether noreshed in England, but some parte of my brede I have eaten in other realmes ; but to say that befoare nowe I did God aryght, the world aryghte, or myself aryghte I did never. And nowe, what I have sayd ye knowe. I saye, God is such a one, that with-

out thowe wille sit downe and behould the heauenes
* above the sonne, and mone, the starres above the
firmament, the course of the sonne, the moone, starres,
and clowdes, the carthe withe all that in them is, and
howe they be all preserved, thowe shalte never knowe
God aryght. The world is alltogether vanity; for it
is nothings but ambition, flattery, foolishe or vaine
glorie, prid, discorde, slander, bostinge, disdayne, ha-
tred and mallis; all which thinges, the same God that
made the world, or, as ye saye, man, which heare I
compare to the world, dothe utterly deteste and ab-
horre, in the which offences I have lived so noseled,
that nowe havinge a just occasion to looke unto myne
owne selfe, I have scene nothing but a body voyd of
all goodness, filthie, and stinkyng of lazars worse than
dung of beastes, a very miserable creature, and yet the
very worke of the myghtie hand of God. But yet, not-
withstandinge, in nowe knowinge my Creator arighte,
I doe not thinke any time to be that I have not bync
plunged over into the middeste of it, for the weh
prayenge God nowe to pardon me, willinge you and
prayenge you to praye for me, and withe me, unto the
Lord my God, and your God, which God I faithfullie
believe is in heven, and at the laste daye shall with all
triumphie come agayne into this worlde, judgyng the
same by fyere; and nowe I wille bide you all farwelle,
prayenge you all to forgeve me, and to saye, The

Lord receave me to his mercy, when you shall see the axe passe between my head and shoulderes: and so did prepare him to the deathe.”

It must be acknowledged, that this recantation of these victims to ambition, if not so also to the protestant faith—is a matter of great doubt and obscurity. Much of this may, it is true, be explained by what is asserted by Strype, in his life of Cranmer, that Northumberland was visited in prison by Bishop Hethe, to whom he pretended that he was reconverted to popery; to which, and most probably even to his dying declaration, he was persuaded by a promise made to him, that if he would recant and hear mass, he should have his pardon, even though his head were upon the block. Strype adds, that the Emperor Charles V. had also been persuaded by the duke's enemies to insist upon Mary's signing the warrant of execution, which she was half inclined to remit—but he then remarks, “the priests best know the intrigues of Mary's reign.”

It must be recollected, however, that during all these affairs, and even at the time of the execution, Mary was still a resident in the Tower, which fortress she did not quit for St. James's until the 12th of September; and then not before she had directed a *forced* loan to be made in the city of London, which was announced on the first of that month: on which a punster might observe, that she had thus *made game* of the worthy citizens in return for their applause. This loan was

principally to defray the expenses of her coronation, which she was determined to celebrate with all possible pomp and magnificence.

After residing for about a fortnight at St. James's, she returned to the Tower by water, on the 27th of September, accompanied by her sister Elizabeth, on whom she appears to have kept a very watchful eye. On this occasion repeated salutes were fired, amounting, for some time, to a continual cannonade, especially at the Tower, each of whose "sakers and demi-culverins" sounded as the knell of the unhappy youthful couple then immured within its walls: and also of Cranmer and Latimer, who had been sent to prison on the 15th of the month.

Every thing being arranged for the coronation, which was fixed for the 3d of October, Mary left the Tower on the last day of September, and rode through the city, with the most splendid pageantry, to Westminster; and still accompanied by Elizabeth, of whom she had already begun to feel great jealousy. Nor were her fears groundless; for, notwithstanding the changeable sycophancy of her ministers and apparent partisans, she could not forget that the only member of the council who had refused to join in the measures to bastardize her was Sir James Hales, or Halles, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; and he too was a great favourer of the reformed religion. Yet this refusal weighed not with the queen; who visited him

with her severe anger, because, at a quarter session in Kent, he gave charge upon the statutes of King Henry VIII. and of Edward, in derogation of the primacy of the church of Rome. For this, certainly a lawful act, he was first committed to the King's Bench, then to the compter, and finally to the Fleet prison, where his mind became so unsettled, that he made an attempt upon his own life with a penknife. On his recovery he was brought before the queen, who, it is said, spoke kindly towards him; but this was of no avail, for shortly afterwards, on his liberation, he drowned himself in a rivulet not half a mile from his own house; and so determined was he upon this melancholy proceeding, that, on account of the shallowness of the rivulet, he actually lay groveling in it until he was suffocated.

The splendour which Mary determined to display on her coronation led to a review of the royal wardrobe: and she had been only a short time seated on her throne, when she began to look about her for the crown jewels, and such other valuables as she could claim, appertaining to her predecessors. Such of these as had been delivered to the Lady Jane, that unhappy lady had already given up; but Mary, evidently with a very unjust suspicion, thought otherwise; and on the 20th of September, issued the following unhand-some order to the Marquess of Winchester, still lord treasurer*:

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 611.

“ By the Quene.

“ Marye the Quene.

“ Trustie and welbeloved, wee grete you well. And where upon delyverie of certen our jewelles and stuffe to yor handes by the Lady Jane Gray, the xx of July last, wch she before had receyved of you, the xiith of the same moneth, it appeyreth that the p̄celles herafter mencioned were wantynge, and by occasion therof cannot yet be found agayne: forasmuch as wee certeynlie undrestonde that by your diligence all the rest that she had was recovered, beinge at the same time in like daungere, and upon trust wee have ye will not let to use the lyke travayle to recover these p̄celles also to our use so sone as ye canne; we are therfore pleased,” &c.— Here her very careful and liberal majesty gave to the marquess an acquittance for himself and heirs.

To some readers it may be curious to enumerate the articles whose loss is here complained of.

The first was a chain of twenty pieces of gold, enamelled black, with forty clusters of pearls set in gold, with five pearls in every cluster. Next a chain of forty-four pieces of gold, and in each of them two small turquoises and twenty-four pearls. Also a collette of gold and two pearls; parcel of twenty-four broken collettes, containing thirty-six pearls. “ Item, two pearls, parcell of eighteen upon an upper habillement.” All these are stated to have been taken

out of a coffer on which was written “The Quenes Jewells:” but the list was much larger, out of a “square cofer covered with fustian of Naples.” The first of these is, “Item, a litle peece of a broken ring of gold—Item, a booke of prayeres, covered with purple velvett, and garnished with gold—Item, a purse of lether, with xviii peces of silver of sundrie straunge coynes—Item, three frenche crownes, wherof one broken—Item, a girdle of gold—Item, iiii old half-pence of silver—Item, viii litle half-pence and farthings of latten—Item, xvi d. two farthings, and two half-pence—Item, a pair of twitchers of silver—Item, a ringe of golde, with a deathe’s head—Item, a prymer in English—Item, a litle square boxe of gold and silver, with a paire of sheares, and diverse shreddes of satten in the same—Item, in a white paper, a litle peece of damask gold—Item, a paire of knyves in a case of black silk—Item, two bookes covered with lether.” —But perhaps the most curious of all is out of “the cofer marked with the broad arrow:” “Item, two shavinge clothes—Item, xiiii paire of gloves of diverse sortes.”

The careful Mary had also an inventory of her own jewels taken; many of the entries in which are scarcely intelligible at the present day. “Item, a shippe garnishede fullie with diamountes, lacking two—Item, one H. and K. with one lardge emeralde, and one lardge peece pendente—Item, a tablet, being a whistle

of gold, a woman the upper part, gold enameled white, and the lower of mother of perle." Then there was a tablet of gold, with the king's picture on one side painted, on the other a rose of diamonds: also a "tablet of gold, therein a clocke." Next come "caranettes" of gold and diamonds—"laces for the necke, of gold—habillementes of gold, perles, and stone—gerdelles of gold—bracelletes of gold—beades—aglettes—buttons—claspes—glasses—books—furies"—&c. &c.

In another part of this curious MS. is a further list of "coyne receaved of the Lady Jane Gray," on the 25th of July. This list contains some "crownes and half-crownes—old Edwardes—peeses of golde—double duckettes—peeses of gold" (with the pictures of Henry VIII. Edward VI. &c.) "one half anngel—shillinges and half shillinges."—Even "base money," to the amount of four shillings and five-pence, is set down—"Item, olde sterlinge money, with two placke xxd.—Item, xiii brasse peeces, not valued!" The whole amounting to £541 13s. 2d.! "Receaved of the Lord Guilforde Dudeley, in moneys of the base standarde, xxxii li. viii s."

In short, it is evident that the unhappy pair were stripped of every penny they possessed; for it is impossible to believe that such sums, and such *monies*, could have been part of the royal treasury. This extreme harshness, however, seems to have been pretty fair evidence of what Mary's intentions were towards

her prisoners, as soon as the bustle of her own coronation should be over ; which took place in Westminster Abbey, on the 1st, or, as some say, on the 5th of October, with unprecedented magnificence.

This ceremony was scarcely over, when measures were put in train for the impeachment and trial of Lady Jane, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, together with Lord Ambrose, and Sir Henry Dudley, sons of the Duke of Northumberland ; and likewise Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose backwardness, in favour of the proposed succession setting aside Mary, availed him nothing in the day of her power, when she still remembered his conduct in regard to her mother's divorce, in addition to his " heretical " opinions.

The trial, on an arraignment for high treason, took place at Guildhall on the 13th of November ; on the morning of which day Lady Jane and her husband were led thither from the Tower, under a guard of four hundred halberdiers. To the indictment they all pleaded guilty ; fully aware that defence was in vain.

It is stated, by an Italian author, (Florio), who appears to have had good opportunities of information, that Lady Jane displayed the utmost coolness and presence of mind upon this occasion. He says, that neither the noise nor greatness of the crowd, nor the clash of arms, nor even the solemn ceremonies observed in passing

sentence, nay, nor the presence of her unjust judges, 'seemed to alarm her, or to shake her constancy: her cheeks were never robbed of their bloom; nor did her voice in the slightest degree falter or tremble. The whole of this description has been well embodied by Rowe in his tragedy, when he makes Bishop Gardiner, who was most active upon this occasion, thus reply to Pembroke's expostulations in favour of mercy:

Gar. These are romantic, light, vain-glorious dreams.
Have you consider'd well upon the danger?
How dear to the fond many, and how popular,
These are whom you would spare? Have you forgot
When at the bar, before the seat of judgment,
This Lady Jane, this beauteous trait'ress, stood,
With what command she charm'd the whole assembly?
With silent grief the mournful audience sat,
Fix'd on her face, and list'ning to her pleading:
Her very judges wrung their hands for pity;
Their old hearts melted in 'em as she spoke,
And tears ran down upon their silver beards.
Ev'n I myself was moved, and for a moment
Felt wrath suspended in my doubtful breast,
And question'd if the voice I heard was mortal.
But when her tale was done, what loud applause,
Like bursts of thunder, shook the spacious hall!
At last, when sore constrain'd, th' unwilling lords
Pronounced the fatal sentence on her life;
A peal of groans ran through the crowded court
As ev'ry heart was broken, and the doom,
Like that which waits the world, were universal.

The awful sentence passed, she was ordered back to the Tower under the same escort, in company with

the other victims: but the whole scene was so terrific, that the persons who had been permitted to attend upon her in her prison, for consolation and support, were so impressed with its various horrors, as to be indebted to her for that consolation which they could not give*.

“ Oh, faithful companions of my sorrows,” said she, “ why do you thus afflict me with your complaints? Are

* The royal apartments in the Tower, and the “ Quenes Garden,” as it was called, occupied the south eastern angle of that fortress, close by Irongate. After Elizabeth’s time they went to decay, and the offices of the ordnance stand upon their site. The only remaining vestige is what is now called Cold Harbour; supposed to be the entrance to that part of the palace afterwards occupied by Elizabeth, whilst a state prisoner.



we not born into life to suffer adversity, and even disgrace, if it be necessary? When has the time been that the innocent were not exposed to violence and oppression?"

With respect to the public feeling, as manifested on her way back to the Tower, it is stated expressly by Speed, that great lamentations were made, during the transit of all the prisoners, but especially for the good Lady Jane; whose state the queen herself so pitied, that she ordered her to have the liberty of walking in the queen's garden in the Tower, and on the hill also: and he adds, that surely had not her father, after his first offence, fallen into another, she had been, as was thought, "pardoned of life." It has been supposed that the youth and innocence of those two youthful personages, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their behalf, even upon her bigoted and jealous mind.



SECTION VII.

Treatment of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford as Prisoners—Indulgences and Hopes of Pardon—Efforts for Conversion, on the Part of Mary—Steadiness and Christian Fortitude of Lady Jane—Letter to Harding—Revival of Popery—Submission of the Realm to the Pope—Public Opinions and Feelings—Wyat's Rebellion—Proposed Marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain—Anecdotes, &c.—Injudicious Participation of the Duke of Suffolk in the Rebellion—His Arrest and Imprisonment in the Tower—Fatal Consequences to Lady Jane—Conferences with Catholic Priests—Order for Execution—Letter to her Father, and other obituary Memorials—Preparations for the fatal Hour—Prayer in Prison—EXECUTION of Lord Guildford Dudley; followed by that of LADY JANE!—Affecting Anecdotes of the unhappy Pair—Resignation and Christian Fortitude of LADY JANE—Speech on the Scaffold—SHE FALLS!!!—Conclusion.

THE day of their trial was the first on which those illustrious victims to parental ambition had been permitted to see each other since their first moment of arrest; and they were as sedulously separated on their return to the Tower; yet to Lord Guildford some little indulgence was shown, for Stowe, in his *Annals*, says, that he and Lord Ambrose “had the liberties of the *ports* where they were lodged.” But when, on the

21st of December, the Marquess of Northampton and Sir Henry Gates were pardoned and discharged, then the confinement of both the Dudleys and of Lady Jane was lessened in strictness, and, it is said, with hopes of pardon. The two young lords were permitted to walk on the leads of the Tower; whilst to Lady Jane was granted the favour of walking in the queen's garden, together with several other little indulgences; which would, however, have only been so many acts of cruelty, if further punishment had then been intended.

It has been supposed, by some, that Mary, at this moment, had no sanguinary purposes in view, but merely hoped, that by terror of the scaffold, and in the silence and seclusion of a prison, she might be able to recal them from that "heretical" path for which she had such an aversion; and, in consonance with this, it is stated by an anonymous writer*, that, during this period of her imprisonment, Mary and her priestly counsellors were very anxious to convert our amiable heroine to popery, for which purpose several learned divines of the Roman catholic persuasion were sent to her, to dissuade her from that profession of the Gospel which from her cradle she had ever held; each striving by art, by flattery, by threatenings, by promise of life, "or what else might move most in the bosom of a weak woman, who should become master of so great a prize;

* Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 36.

but all their labours were bootless, for she had art to confound their art, wisdom to withstand their flatteries,* resolution above their menaces, and such a true knowledge of life, that Death was to her no other than a most familiar acquaintance."

It has indeed been asserted by several, that she had the most solemn promises of life and fortune, provided she would recant: but all in vain; and she therefore began early to prepare herself for death, by a careful study of the promises in the Gospel.

If the letter recorded in Fox's Acts and Monuments as written by Lady Jane to Dr. Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, on the subject of his recantation from the reformed religion, be really from her pen, it must have been composed about this period, during her imprisonment; for Harding did not recant until after Mary's accession. Burnet observes of this letter, that it is "full of life in the thought, and zeal in the expression"—but we cannot help approving of the opinion of several judicious writers, that the violent flaming zeal, with the coarse indelicate language of it, cannot have been the genuine effusion of a mind so gentle and amiable as that of our heroine.

The letter itself may be found in Fox's Acts and Monuments*, and commences with a variety of phrases, applied to Harding as forsaking Christ, which surpass even the Billingsgate of some modern sectaries. Then follow

* Vol. iii. p. 27.

reproaches for apostasy, in a style such as few professed termagants would venture to use in conversation, much less set down in writing; whilst the attack upon the Roman catholic church, though it manifests great vehemence of faith and abhorrence, does not at all resemble either the piety or the Christian forbearance for which Lady Jane was so remarkable.

Can it for a moment be supposed that such epithets as “deformed imp of the devil,”—“stinking and filthy kennel of Satan,”—“unshamefast paramour of Antichrist,”—“cowardly runaway,”—“golden calf,”—“*** of Babylon,”—“sink of sin,”—“child of perdition,”—“white-livered milksop,” with a long &c. can have issued from the mind or pen of an amiable young female? We think not; and therefore consider it unnecessary to notice this epistle any further.

Mary’s disposition to re-introduce popery soon manifested itself; at first, indeed, in small things, but not the less likely to excite suspicion; for, in a “List of memorable Occurrences” on that subject, preserved in the Museum*, we find it recorded, that “comandment was gyven, that in all churches in London, the sepulture should be had upp agayne, and that evry man should beare palmes and goe to shrifte;” and soon after, on Ash-Wednesday, Dr. Weston sung mass at Charing Cross “before the quene in harnesse under his vestments;” whilst the queen went in procession, “and

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. I. 419, 43.

Burne, Byshopp of Bath, dyd ther wer a myter and a payre of sylppers off sylver and gilt," &c. &c. *

But she was soon enabled to pursue her plans more openly; for as early as the beginning of December she had gained over the parliament to her purposes, as appears by

"The submission of the realme to the Pope, the last day of November, 1554.—Translation*.

"To their Majesties the King and Queen.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of the whole kingdom of England, singly and universally, in our own and in their name, by this supplication, directed to your majesties, most humbly beg that the Right Reverend Father in God, Cardinal Pole, being specially deputed to his Holiness Pope Julius the Third, and to the Holy Apostolic Roman See, this our supplication shall be transmitted by your majesties, by which we declare ourselves to be deeply penitent of the heresy and disobedience committed in this realm against the said Apostolic See, not only in passing, but in consenting to, and in acting on certain laws, ordinances, and decrees, in opposition to the primary authority of that see, and also in regard to the impugning of that authority, either in word or deed.

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Tit. c. vii. 118.

“ Witnessing and promising by this our supplication in testimony and declaration of this our repentance, that we are and shall be prepared, on the authority of our rulers, to do whatever we can that these laws, decrees, and ordinances shall be rescinded and abrogated in this present parliament, as well in our own name as in that of the whole body which we represent. In which we humbly supplicate your majesties, that every polluted spot thrown by this body upon that holy see, to whom Divine Providence has subjected us, being wiped out, your majesties will be pleased to intercede for us that this our humble supplication shall be received at the Apostolic See, through the aforesaid Right Reverend Lord Legate, and that we, all and every of us, shall obtain free pardon, absolution, and liberation from all censures and sentences to which we fall under the ecclesiastical laws; and that as penitent children we may be received into the bosom and unity of the church of Christ; that this noble realm, with all its members, may be one in unity and in perfect obedience to the Apostolic See, and the Roman Pontiffs, to serve God and your majesties only, and for the divine honour and glory.”

With such high political sanction to her views, Mary could have little to fear from her youthful rivals in poverty and imprisonment; but whatever hopes Lady Jane and her husband might have entertained, whatever ease they might then be permitted to enjoy,

were quickly taken away by one unhappy event, which it was impossible for them to foresee, and in which it was not so much as pretended that they were parties. Indeed this unfortunate circumstance arose, apparently, from causes totally different.

It is stated by all historians that, whatever the public feelings had been in regard to Mary's right to the throne, yet there was now a great spirit raised in the nation against her union with Philip of Spain ; and upon this a general insurrection was concerted, which, it is generally admitted, if it had been executed with any degree of that prudence shown in the planning of it, could scarcely have failed of success. Sir Thomas Wyatt, as we shall speak of further presently, was to be the leader in Kent ; whilst Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall, undertook to negotiate with all those who might prefer to see the Princess Elizabeth, a Protestant, upon the throne, and married to Courtenay, the young Earl of Devonshire.

The breaking out of this plan was probably hastened by Mary's haste to be married ; for as early as the 12th of January, 1554, she was deep in negotiation ; and very soon after Count Egmont arrived in London to settle every thing for the marriage.

That Mary's alarm, in regard to the proceedings of the people of London, was not ill founded, may be readily allowed ; and their disposition may be illustrated by the fact that shortly afterwards, on the ex-

pected arrival of her husband Philip, she was obliged to publish a proclamation, in which she said, that having “concluded a marriage, to the honour of Almighty God, and the weale and benefit of her graces realmes and subjects, with the most high and mighty Prince of Spain, hir highnes, considering the lightnes and evill disposition of divers lowe and seditious persons, who, seeking always novelties, and being seldom contented with their present state, might, peradventure, at this time, by their naughtie and disordered behaviour, attempt to stir discord, and give reason to breake the order and frendly agreem^t that ought to be nourished and contynued between the subjects of this realme and such as shall come in with the said noble prince.”—Ordered that the most friendly conduct should be shown unto these strangers, as they were also to show in England; “with curtuosie, frendly and gentle enterteignment, without ministring towards them any manner, cause of strife, or contention, either by outward dedes, taunting wordes, unseemly countenance, or by any other waies or meanes whereby lack of frendship or goodwill might be conceived.”—She then notified to all the nobility and gentry that she would hold them accountable for the conduct and behaviour of their servants and dependents, upon pain of her high displeasure and indignation; threatening them also with committal to prison, “without bail or mainprise, to abide there such further punishment, either

by fyne or otherwise, as shall be thought agreeable to the quality of his or their offences, and may serve for an example to other like disordrid persons*.”

To make matters doubly sure, Mary also sent for the lord-mayor and corporation to court, when she informed them of the intended wedding, and desired that they should behave themselves like good subjects, with all humbleness and rejoicing!

Of Wyatt's rebellion it is stated†, that it was begun by that knight sooner than at first intended, in consequence of his alarm at hearing that one of his dearest friends was committed to the Fleet prison. The cause of committal was, indeed, distinct from the plot; but Sir Thomas felt alarmed, and broke out at once into

* Of the police of the city some idea may be formed from a proclamation also issued at this period, by the mayor and court of aldermen, in the queen's name, reciting that “ heretofore great study and care hath bene taken for the cleene keeping of the streets, lanes, and allies; therby to avoid sickness and infection;” and ordering every person possessed of wells or pumps, to cause ten bucketsfull, at least, of water to be thence drawn every morning before six o'clock, and to be poured or cast into the streets and kennels; whilst the same should be swept every morning before, and every evening after six. The scavengers were then ordered to sweep and carry away the filth every second day; whilst it was further directed, that no person should permit their dogs to be in the street after ten at night, or before four in the morning; authorizing all dogs found within those hours to be killed, without any redress to the owner for the same.

† Vide Fuller's Church History.

open hostility. Fuller relates that the queen, hearing of the commotion, sent a herald to him with orders to desist; who, on his arrival at Sir Thomas's house, found it deeply moated round about, with the bridge drawn up, but still that a place like a ford seemed to offer a safe passage. "On the inside thereof walked the proper case of a man well habited, and his face carrying no despair of wisdom therein. The herald asked him, 'whether he might safely go over there?' To whom the other slightly answered, 'yea, yea:' but had not the strength of his horse been more than ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water, or buried in the mudde." The herald, on his arrival at the house, made loud complaints of the deceit practised upon him; when Sir Thomas summoned all his household to answer the charge: "The herald challengeth the party at the first sight of him: 'Alasse!' said Sir Thomas, 'he is a meer naturell, as will appear if you please to examine him.' 'Why, sirrah,' said the herald, 'did you direct me to come over where it was almost impossible to passe without drowning?' To whom the other answered, 'The duckes came over not long before you, whose legs were shorter than your horse's.' 'Hereat the herald smiled out his anger, adding withall, 'Sir Thomas, hereafter let your foole wear the badge of his profession on him, that he may deceive no more in this kinde.'"

It was not until the twentieth of January that the

queen and her council pretended to consider the rebellion of Wyatt as connected with the Lady Jane ;* but on that day, in the address of Sir Robert Southwell, sheriff of Kent, to the people assembled at the market of Town Malling, it was expressly said, “ Do you not see and note, that as in the beginning of the quenes most gracious reign, some of these sought to deprive her grace of her princely estate and rightful dignity, minding to advance therunto the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk ? ” — “ So are they and others newly confederated with the Duke,” &c.

But it is a certain fact that Wyatt’s rebellion, as appears from his own proclamation, was to oppose the queen’s marrying with a foreigner ; yet this availed little to the unhappy victims now identified with that rebellion ; perhaps, too, not unfairly. At all events, it was an unfortunate coincidence for the poor prisoner that her father, the Duke of Suffolk, within a very few months after the failure of his ambitious plans, unmindful of the clemency which he had so lately received, and at the risk of his daughter’s safety, still in the queen’s power, should have been so infatuated as to take part in this rebellion now set afloat by Sir Thomas Wyatt, even though only on pretence of danger apprehended from Mary’s projected marriage with Philip of Spain.

But so misguided was that unhappy man, that on the twenty-fifth of January, accompanied by his two

brothers, the Lords Thomas and Richard Grey, he departed secretly one evening from his residence at Sheen, near Richmond, and set off with all speed for Leicestershire, making proclamation (both in Leicester and in other places) of Wyatt's rise, but confining himself to the subject of Mary's intended marriage. His force amounted to about one hundred and forty horsemen: but he found so little encouragement in Leicestershire, even amongst his own tenants, that he set off to try the next county, yet with similar ill success; for the citizens of Coventry shut their gates against him, in which they were directed by the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been sent down by the queen to oppose any probable disturbances in that quarter.

Foiled in his endeavours, he found it prudent to retire to Astley, where he and one of his brothers took refuge in some secret place in the park of that mansion: but to little effect; for he was shortly afterwards betrayed to the Earl of Huntingdon, and conveyed to Coventry in the custody of Christopher Warner, an alderman of that city.

His other brother, the Lord Thomas, as Hollinshed informs us, got away at that time, intending to have fled into Wales, from whence he might have escaped to the Continent; but on the borders of that principality he was also apprehended, "through his great mishap, and follie of his man, who had forgot his cap case with monie behind him in his chamber one

morninge at his inne, and, coming for it againe, upon examination what he should be, it was mistrusted that his maister should be some such man as he was indeed, and so was staied, taken, and brought up to London."

It may, perhaps, now be fairly said, as generally believed by the writers of that time, that this rebellion alone proved fatal to the Lady Jane, and Lord Guildford; for her father's treason was now imputed by the queen and her friends to the unambitious daughter, although the fact certainly was, that the rebels and malcontents seemed principally to rest their hopes upon the Princess Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire. Indeed Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that even now Mary was adverse to sanguinary measures: nay, when all her priests and ministers urged that her safety could only be provided for by fulfilling the sentences already passed upon her unhappy prisoners, it was still with considerable difficulty that she could be prevailed on to sign the warrants for their execution; a measure, too, which she delayed unto the last moment.

But when it was understood that Wyatt had advanced on the first of February to Greenwich, matters began to take a very serious turn; and when, on the same day, though proclamation was made that the Duke of Suffolk was taken prisoner, and his people scattered, yet Wyatt still pushed on for the metropolis, and on the third was actually in Southwark, Mary at once decided on their fate, which, however, was necessarily

postponed during the assault on the metropolis by 'Wyat's insurgents, on the 5th and 6th of February.

On the latter day, the insurgents being defeated, and Wyatt himself made a prisoner, tranquillity was in some measure restored; and on the 7th the council met to consult on the necessary steps, when, as Sir Richard Baker observes, the first that was thought on was the Lady Jane, in whom was verified, "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;" for the innocent lady must suffer for her father's fault, and now, as a rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed. It appears from Baker's statement, that Feckenham, then the queen's confessor, afterwards abbot of Westminster, was sent on the 8th to acquaint her that she must prepare herself to die the very next day; which message was so little unpleasant to her, that she seemed rather to rejoice at it, as if thereby she were to be set at liberty.

Feckenham, during this interview, in which she at once told him candidly that she had long expected the fate thus announced, was very earnest, according to the orders which he had received, both from the queen and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in exhorting her to change her religion; when she, even thus taken without preparation, answered him upon that subject with great calmness of mind and clearness of reason, not only upon the subjects of faith and holiness, but also on the sacraments, the scriptures, and the authority of the

church. She concluded with saying, that she had now no time to think of any thing, but of preparing herself to God by prayer; when the abbot, construing this observation to mean a request for some delay, applied to the queen, who granted him three days longer for the poor captive, to whom he instantly announced it in her prison.

He entered her apartment with a smile in his countenance, whilst he informed her of the reprieve; but Lady Jane mildly answered him, “ You are much deceived if you think I have any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death; and since it is the queen’s pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it;” adding, that far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it, as the period of her miseries, and her entrance into eternal happiness.

Indeed it is evident that to Lady Jane the bitterness of death was now past, so long had she looked forward to it, being thus prepared to meet her fate before it was announced; an expectation said to have been, in some measure, turned into certainty some days previous, by the enforcement of a stricter confinement, and the abrogation of all former indulgences.

When Mary was informed of the preceding conversation, she became inflamed with the spirit of en-

thusiastic persecution ; and, in the frenzy of bigoted zeal, but under pretence of tender mercy to the soul of her unhappy prisoner, again sent to her Feckenham, her own confessor, and several other divines of the Roman Catholic church, who disturbed her devotions, and molested her with perpetual disputation ; and they even went so far as to offer her a further reprieve, in hopes that she might be persuaded during that time to pay, by what they called a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare ; for which purposes a more formal conference was appointed by them, and so far acquiesced in by the suffering martyr.

Feckenham went to this conference with great hope and exultation. He thought he should now have found her in great disorder, and confusion, and that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over the feeble understanding of a dejected and heart-broken young female. He found it quite otherwise, however : yet Lady Jane was still anxious to decline the proposed dispute ; telling him that now she had no time to spare—that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying—and that, therefore, the truest sign of his having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in making her peace with God.

With this humble request the confessor's presumptuous hopes forbade compliance ; particularly as several

individuals had been purposely admitted, besides the accompanying clergy, before whom he was anxious to display his powers.

The account of this conference, as given by an anonymous writer of that day*, is, that Feckenham had with her a long and tedious disputation; but, like the other priests, who had preceded him in this second task of attempted conversion, found himself in all holy gifts so short of her excellence, that even he acknowledged himself fitter to be her disciple than her teacher; and that he actually besought her to deliver to him some brief account of her faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful witness publish to the world. To this she is stated to have willingly condescended; bidding him boldly question her in what points of religion soever it pleased him, and promising that she would give her faithful and believing answer, such as she would be ever ready to seal with her blood.

The same writer asserts, that this catechising argument, for such it was, took place in the Tower publicly before an assemblage of the noble and learned; during which Lady Jane bore herself with such a modest humility, yet so honourably stout in all things, which either concerned her God or her religion, that she ravished and stole unto her all the hearts of her auditory, while Feckenham lost much of that good opinion of his

* Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 36.

learning, which for a long time he had enjoyed. On this, we are told, that finding his own weakness, and his disability to repel her truth with his scholastic fallacies, he lost his temper, and dared to use towards her "some inmodest speeches, most unsuitable for his gravity:" an insult, however, which she only answered with smiles and patience.

The conference, of course, was now at an end; but though Feckenham went through the farce of paying his parting respects towards Lady Jane, as the others did, yet he could not control his spleen, saying to her, "Madam! I am sorry for you and your obstinacy; and now I am assured that you and I shall never meet again!"

Even to this coarse witticism, Lady Jane merely answered, "It is most true, sir! we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured, that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case; and I pray to God to send you his holy spirit, for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth."

Feckenham, more enraged at this, turned rudely upon his heel, and left her without obeisance; whilst she, like a suffering saint, withdrew herself into her bedchamber to meditation and prayer.

Part of this disputation, said to be drawn up by

Lady Jane herself, is given by various authors*, and its sum and substance we may thus briefly sketch†. •

To Feckenham's question, as to the duties of a christian, Lady Jane named a sincere belief in God, as a trinity, a sincere love of God in heart, soul, and mind, and the love of our fellow creatures as ourselves. Faith and love towards God she described as inseparable; whilst love to our fellow creatures, she explained, as combining all the bounties of active charity with a liberal feeling, founded upon the golden christian rule, of doing unto others as we wish them to do unto us. Good works, however, she did not consider as the price of salvation, but only as the necessary tests and

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Phœnix, &c.

† In the British Museum, Harl. Coll. No. 425, p. 83, is a copy, apparently verbatim, of this conference. We subjoin its commencement, as a specimen of the manner in which it was conducted.

“ *Fecknam.* What thyng is requyryd in a crystyne?

“ *Lady Jane.* To believe in Godd the Father, in Godd the Sonne, and in Godde the Holy Ghost; iii p'sons in one Godd.

“ *P.* Is there nothyng else requyryd in a crystyn man but to believe in Godd?

“ *L. J.* Yes. We must believe in hym. We must love hym with all our harte, with all our sowle, and all our mynde, and our neighbor as our selfe.

“ *P.* Why (S. Pawle saythe that yf I haue faythe) then faythe only justifyeth not nor saveth not?

“ *L. J.* Yes, surely; as S^t Pawle saith, faythe only justifieth.

“ *P.* Why, S^t Pawle saith that if I haue faithe and want love it is nothyng?”

consequences of that faith which alone can save, through the merits and mediation of our redeemer Jesus Christ.

When Feckenham asserted that there were seven sacraments, Lady Jane answered by a short question ; “ By what scripture find you that ? ” ‘ To which the abbot could only reply, “ Well ! we will talk of that hereafter.” In answer to his question, of what she understood by the only two sacraments that she acknowledged ? Lady Jane stated, that baptism was merely a token of being the child of God, and of regeneration ; whilst the Lord’s supper was nothing more than a sure seal and testimony of the blood of Christ shed upon the cross, by which all true believers are made partakers of Heaven.

Feckenham then touched her more closely upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, asking her if she did not actually receive the very body and *blood* of Christ in the *breaul* ; for to this absurdity upon absurdity he was brought, by the fact of the Roman Catholic clergy denying the cup to the laity in the celebration of that sacrament ; but Lady Jane at once denied her belief of this, saying, that the broken bread reminded her of Christ’s body broken for her sins, and the wine recalled to her the redeemer’s blood shed upon the cross, of which she would receive the benefits through a holy partaking.

To this Feckenham instantly opposed what he considered an unanswerable argument ; asking her, did

not Christ himself say, "Take, eat, this is my body." But this she explained was only meant in a figurative sense, just as he says in other places that he is a vine, a door, &c. She further urged the impossibility of our Saviour having any other than a typical meaning in these words, by the fact that there could not be two Christs; one in Heaven, and the other to be eaten upon earth; that Christ himself was alive in the body when he said so; and that it was impossible the bread on the table, which he broke and gave to his disciples, could be the body of him who then distributed it!

To this Feckenham merely answered that she founded her faith upon authors who say and unsay in a breath, and not upon the church, to which she ought to give credit; but she denied this, asserting that she grounded her faith upon God's word, and not upon any church; and that the opinions of a church were to be tried by God's word, and not God's word by a church, which in refusing the wine to partakers of a sacrament, withholds from them part of the type of their salvation. She then showed clearly that St. Paul administered the sacrament in both kinds to the Corinthians; to which Feckenham replied, that the refusal of the cup to the laity, by the Roman Catholic church, was to a good intent, and to avoid a heresy; a reason which Lady Jane at once set aside, by replying that the church had no right to alter God's will and ordinances.

The paper, thus slightly sketched, now says: "To

this Mr. Feckenham gave me a long, tedious, yet eloquent reply, using many strong and logical persuasions to compel me to have leaned to their church ; but my faith hath armed my resolution to withstand any assault that words could then use against me. Of many other articles of religion we reasoned ; but those formerly rehears'd were the chiefest and most effectual.

Subscribed,

JANE DUDLEY."

Though Friday the 9th of February was the day first appointed for the awful ceremony of death, and though Lady Jane had refused the offered respite, as well as its terms and conditions, yet, for reasons which do not appear, that respite was confirmed by the council ; and by that delay, her father became, in some measure, a witness of the ruin he had produced, he himself being brought in a prisoner to the Tower, on the 10th of the month. Lady Jane, there is every reason to believe, was not, at the moment, acquainted with his previous arrest, nor even with his being in arms, for it was on the 9th, in the evening, that she wrote to him the memorable letter, mentioned by all historians of that day, and undoubtedly genuine. It is also said, by those who believe in the authenticity of her supposed letter to Harding, already noticed, that it was between the notice of her death and execution that she composed it ; but this is only adding improbability to improbability,

since a letter so unlike to her mild and meek, yet boldly christian spirit, was still less likely to have been written under her then circumstances.

In a book of the lord stewards of England *, the letter to her father is noticed in the following manner :

“ This duke’s facility, too, by practises, had occasioned the troubles w^{ch} w^{ch} this realme had for some yeaes beene distracted, and his rash ingratitude (the queene havenge once pardoned him beyond expectation) had diverted the current of the queenes clemency towards his daughter the Lady Jane, whose life (yt was generally conceived) shee would have pardoned, but her father’s miscounselled rashnes hastened her death. A little before w^{ch} shee sent unto him this letter followinge :

“ Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whome my life should rather have beene lengthened, yet I can soe patiently take it, that I yeeld God more hearty thanks for shortning my wofull dayes, than if all the world had been given into my possessions, with life lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am very well assured* of yō impatient dolours, redoubled many wayes, both in bewayling yo^r owne woe, and especially, as I am informed, my wofull estate: yet my deare father, if I may, without offense, reioyce in my owne mishaps,

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 2194, p. 24.

herein I may account myself blessed, that washinge my hands with the innocence of my fact, my guiltless bloud may cry before the Lord, mercie to the innocent. And yet though I must needs acknowledge, that beinge constrayned, and as you knowe well enough contynually assayed; yet in taking upon mee, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queene and her lawes, yet doe I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is soe muche the lesse, in that being in so royall estate as I was, my enforced honō neuer mingled wth mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I presently stand, my death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seeme wofull, yet to mee thear is nothing that can bee more welcome than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all ioy and pleasure, wth Christ my Saviour: in whose stedfast faith (if it may be lawfull for the daughter soe to write to the father) the Lord that hath hitherto strengthened you, soe continue to keepe you, that att the last wee may meete in heaven with the Father, Sonn, and Holy Ghost.

I am,

• Your obedient Daughter till death,

JANE DUDLEY."

At what time this letter reached her father is uncertain; but on the next day, as already mentioned, (the 10th of February) the Duke of Suffolk was brought

up prisoner to the Tower, together with the Lord John, his brother, guarded by the Earl of Huntingdon, a troop of gentlemen, and others, to the number of three hundred horsemen; and measures were instantly taken for his trial.

Between the announcement of the fatal order for execution and its fulfilment, the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Gage, evidently impressed with love and respect for the unhappy sufferers, was anxious to procure some memorial of his illustrious prisoners; and accordingly he presented to them a “vellum book of a small but thickish size*, being the manuel of devotions of some English protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion. It was illuminated by some foreigner, but hath since been abused; and is now imperfect in two places.” Such is the description of the book in the Harleian Catalogue, to which is added a note: “I will not affirm that this manuel was written by the direction of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, upon his first commitment to the Tower of London; and that the last five prayers were added after his second commitment, which ended in his execution. But if this were so, ’tis easy to apprehend how it might come into the hands of that noble, but unfortunate lady, the Lady Jane Grey: but that this book was in the Lady Jane’s hands or possession, and was also looked into by her husband,

* Brit. Mus. Harl. Coll. No. 2342.

appears by the three following notes written on the lower margins."

The probability is, that the book had been borrowed by the illustrious sufferers; and, for want of permitted materials, was made by them the means of communicating their last wishes and farewells to their friends. The first note is evidently addressed by Lord Guildford to his father in law: "Your loving and obedyent son wischethe unto your grace, long lyfe in this world, with as much joy and comforte as ever I wyshte to my selfe; and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son tel his dethe, G. Duddeley."

A few pages further on is a note from Lady Jane, addressed to the Duke of Suffolk: "The Lord comforte your grace, and that in his worde whearein alle creatures onely are to be comforted. And thoughte it hath pleased God to take awaye 2 of your children, yet thincke not, I most humblye beseeche your grace, that you have lost them; but truste that we, by leafige this mortall lyfe, haue wunne an immortel life. And I, for my parte, as I haue honoured yur grace in this life, wyll praye for you in another life.

*your grace's humble daughter
Jane Duddeley*

The dying victim of ambition also addressed Sir John Gage in the following words: "Forasmuche as

you haue desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthy a booke, gode mayster lieufteuante, therefore, I shall, as a friend, desyre you, and as a Christian require you, to call uppon God, to encline your harte to his lawes, to quicken you in his waye, and not to take the worde of trewethe utterlye oute of your mouth. Lyve styll to dye, that by deathe you may purchase eternell life; and remembre howe the ende of Mathusael, whoe as we reade in the scriptures, was the longeste liver that was of a manne died at the laste. For, as the precher sayethe, there is a tyme to be borne and a tyme to die; and the daye of deathe is better than the daye of oure birthe. Youres as the Lorde knowethe as a frende.

JANE DUDDELEY."

On the 11th of February she was, for the most part, absorbed in religious exercises and meditation: but in the course of this evening she took up a New Testament in Greek, "in which, after she had read a while, and closing the book, she found at the end of it some leaves of clean paper unwritten; which," says the author quoted, "as it were awakening and exciting her zeal to some good and charitable office, she took pen and ink, and on these waste leaves wrote a most learned and godly exhortation; which she had no sooner finished, than she closed up the book, and delivered it to one of her attendants, Mistress Tylney, or Mistress Ellen, de-

siring her to bear it to her sister Lady Herbert, as the last token of her love and remembrance.”

After finishing this exhortation to her sister, she was not permitted to remain in peace; but was again assailed by two bishops and two learned doctors, who held her in deep conference upwards of two hours, striving with all their powers of eloquence and persuasion to induce her to recant, and die in the Roman Catholic faith; in this, however, they were, as before, totally unsuccessful; “for her faith being built upon the rock of Christ, was by no worldly persuasion or comfort to be either moved or shaken; so that after the expense of time, and the loss of much speech, they left her (as they said) a lost and forsaken member; but she, as before, prayed for them, and with a most charitable patience endured their worst censures.”

The Testament in which Lady Jane wrote this exhortation to her sister is still in existence; but we have not seen it: we subjoin, however, a copy which we have seen, on the blank pages of a MS. on vellum, containing an Essay by Albertus Castellanus, or Albert Chatelain, on the Art of Dicing “*De arte Moriendi*,” and a chronicle of English affairs from Adam to the year 1427*. It is to the following effect:

* This MS. is in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. No. 2370. The MS. itself tells us, that Adam was fifteen years old when he had Cain, and his sister Calmana.

“ This exhortacyon was writen by Lady Jane Dudley to her sister Katherine y^e night bifo she suffred :

“ I haue sent yō good sust^r K. a boke wh although it be not outwardly rimid with gold, yet inwardly it is most worth then p̄cyous stones. It is the boke, dere sist^r, of the laws of the lord ; it is his testament and last will, wch he bequeathed unto us wretches, wch shall lead yō to the path of eternall joye, and yf yō wth a good mīde reade it, and wth an earnest dissyre folow it, shall bring you to an imortall and ever lasting lyfe. It wyll teach yō to lyve, and learne yō to deye : it shall wyne yō more then yō sholde haue gayned by the possessyon of yo^r wofull fathres lands, for as if god had p̄spered him, yō shold haue inherited his lands, so if yō aply diligētly yo^r boke, trying to directe yo^r lyfe aft^r it ; yō shalbe an inheritor of such riches as nither the covetous shall withdrawe from you, neyther the thefe shall steale, neither yet y^e mothe corrupte. Dissyre sist^r to understand y^e lawe of y^e lord yo^r god. Lyve styll to deye, y^t yō by deth may purches eternell lyfe ; or after yo^r deth enioye the lyfe purchesed yo^w by Christis death, and trust not y^t y^e tendernes of yo^r age shall lengthen yo^r life : for assone, if god w̄ill, goith y^e young as the old ; and laboure alway to lerne to deye. Deney y^e world, difey y^e devall, and dispyse y^e flesh. Delite yo^r selfe onely in y^e lord. Be penitent for yo^r syns, and yet despayre not. Be steady in faythe

So collected was the unhappy girl, so composed in all her faculties, that on this very evening she finished and corrected a prayer*, which had long been her

* “ O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flyeth unto thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee ; and, therefore, I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee (O merciful Saviour), craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of my liberty. Albeit, it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited some time with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better ; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me, now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee ; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much depressed with adversity ; lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God ; or being too low brought, should despair and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee ; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch (for whom thy son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross), out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long

solace in prison. We give it in a modern dress and version ; but its authenticity is undoubted.

It had been the original intention of the queen that the youthful couple should suffer together on Tower Hill ; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence as to themselves personally, and noble birth, changed the orders

wilt thou be absent ?—for ever ? Oh, Lord ! hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure ? Wilt thou be no more entreated ? Is thy mercy clear gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore ? Why doest thou make so long tarrying ? Shall I despair of thy mercy ? Oh God ! far be that from me ! I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus ; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me ; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do ; therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace ; above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked ; and taking the helmet of salvation and the sword of thy spirit, which is thy most holy word ; praying always, with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me ; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot but be well all thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins ; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen !”

originally issued, and gave directions that Lord Guildford only should suffer on the Hill, but that Lady Jane should be brought to the block within the walls of the fortress*.

The Lord Guildford being informed of this, on the morning of the fatal day, anxiously desired permission to see the youthful partner of his joys and sorrows; a permission which Mary, from a refinement in cruelty, was not disinclined to grant; but Lady Jane herself refused to admit of the proposed interview, with a degree of prudent resignation which marked the heroic

* We have endeavoured to diversify the regularity of history in several places, with extracts from a well known and much admired dramatic sketch of these occurrences, even when these extracts were not in strict accordance with the precise chain of events: we have now to notice a previous dramatic effort, by J. Banks, in 1693, called the "Innocent Usurper," in which Mrs. Barry played Lady Jane, and Betterton represented Lord Guildford Dudley. Such representation in flowing wigs, buckram skirts, hoop petticoats, and laced lappets, must have been ridiculous enough; but not more so than the play itself, which Suffolk opens with the following bombast:

"Let the sun's fruitful rays abhor the isle,
And smile no more on this unfruitful land."

Further extract must be needless; but we subjoin the concluding lines, as from the lips of the youthful sufferer:

"Should all your tort'rous racks on me be tried,
Broil me on gridirons, turn the other side;
To my vow'd faith I'll be for ever true,
In spite of all your Roman gods, and you!"

feelings of her soul ; sending him word that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them. She added, that their separation would only be for a moment ; and that they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity.

Throughout the whole of these occurrences the dramatic poet, already quoted, makes Gardiner appear more active than history shows him to have openly been ; giving to him, in fact, much of what should have been allotted to Feckenham, whom he has omitted entirely. The notice of the execution he thus describes, in a scene between the bishop and the lieutenant of the Tower :

Lieut. Good morning to your lordship : you rise early.

Gar. Nay, by the rood, there are too many sleepers ;
Some must stir early, or the state shall suffer.
Did you, as yesterday our mandate bade,
Inform your pris'ners, Lady Jane and Guildford,
'They were to die this day?

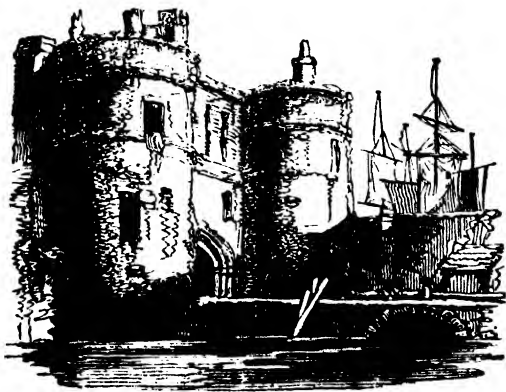
Lieut. My lord, I did.

Gar. 'Tis well. But say how did your message like 'em?

Lieut. My lord, they met the summons with a temper
That show'd a solemn serious sense of death,
Mix'd with a noble scorn of all its terrors :

In short, they heard me with the self-same patience
With which they still have borne them in their prison.
In one request they both concurr'd; each begg'd
To die before the other.

Soon after the communication between the parting lovers, on Monday the 12th of February, 1554, Lord Guildford was led out of the Tower, and when he came outside of the bulwark gate, was delivered into the custody of one of the sheriffs of London, Thomas Offleic. In his way to the gate, he passed directly under the window of his unhappy bride, for such she may still be considered, from whence she took one last parting look in this world, giving him from the window a signal or token of remembrance; and when he was no more to be seen, she sat down with apparent tranquillity, and with the most religious patience and resignation waited until her own appointed hour should arrive.



When the unhappy youth arrived at the gate, several friends were there in waiting: and he took by the hand Sir Anthony Browne, Mr. John Throckmorton, and many other gentlemen; bidding them adieu with great fortitude, but requesting them to pray for him.

No sooner did he approach the scaffold than he mounted it with dignity and resolution; and, after some slight declaration, knelt down to prayer. In a few minutes he paused, and cast his eyes and hands up to Heaven; a tear, it was said, bedewed his eye for a moment—it was but for a moment, when he spoke to the assembled crowd; but merely desired them to pray for him, and then calmly laying his head upon the block, he resigned himself to the executioner.

His head was then laid in a cloth, and, with his body was deposited in a cart, in order to be carried back to the Tower for interment.

It is said that Lady Jane was still sitting tranquilly in her chamber. When she heard the rumbling of the cart, she rose, but her attendants wished to prevent it. This she resisted with calm dignity, walking steadily to the window, under which it passed so as to be seen by her. But she had already heard of his noble behaviour on the scaffold, and had the fortitude to declare, that the constancy of his end gave a confirmation to her mind fully adequate to counterbalance the shock resulting from so tender and melancholy a spectacle. We have seen it recorded, that her words were, “Oh! Guildford! Guildford! the antepast is not so bitter that you

have tasted, and that I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble; but that is nothing compared to the feast that you and I shall this day partake of in Heaven!"

During these proceedings preparations were making inside the fortress for a second tragedy, and a scaffold was erected upon the green, opposite to the White Tower. When it was ready, Sir John Gage, the Lieutenant of the Tower, is said to have again desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her; on which she gave him her table book, where she had just wrote three sentences, on seeing her husband's dead body; one of these was in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English; and the purport of them that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her own fault deserved punishment, yet her youth, at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse, and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour*.

* In her chamber she also left a Latin sentence, written with a pin,—

“ Deo juvante, nil nocet.....malus; •
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebris, spero lucem.”

Which has been thus translated—

Whilst God assists us, Envy bites in vain;
If God forsake us, fruitless all our pain.
I hope for light after the darkness.

The author, already quoted*, says, that when she was called down to go to the scaffold, she had prepared herself for it with more diligence than either the malice of her adversaries could desire, or the vigilance of any officer, for the discharge of his duty, could expect.

Being come down, and delivered into the hands of the sheriffs, she exhibited a countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution, that not the slightest trace of fear or grief could be perceived, either in her words or actions: “but like a divine body, going to be united to her heart’s best and longest beloved, so shewed she forth all the beams of a well mix’d and well temper’d alacrity, rather instructing patience how it should suffer, than being by patience any way able to indure the travail of so grievous a journey.”

When the lieutenant offered his hand to lead her forth, she rose with the greatest calmness, without the slightest change of countenance, and without even a tear in her eye; a degree of confidence which she preserved whilst walking to the scaffold, with a book in her hand, by help of which she prayed most fervently,

It is also ascertained, but we cannot vouch for the authority, that she wrote four other lines in the same manner,—

“Whate’er by man, as mortal, is assign’d,
Should raise compassion, reader, in thy mind!
Mourn others’ woes, and to thy own resign;
The fate which I have found, may soon be thine.”

* Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 42.

though often interrupted by Feckenham with more zeal than delicacy.

Patient, and mild as a lamb, she mounted the scaffold without hesitation, waiting quietly until silence was procured, when she spoke as follows, clearly, distinctly, and without the slightest tremor:—" Good people, I come hither to die ; and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offence against the queen's highness was only in consent to the device of others, which is now deemed treason ; but it was never of my seeking, but by counsel of those who should seem to have further understanding of such things than I, who knew little of the law, and much less of the titles to the crown. The fact indeed was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me, or in my half. I do wash my hands thereof in innocence, before God and you, good Christian people, this day."—It was observed, that at these words she wrung her hands ; not, however, from agony, but rather, as it would seem, as an action in literal consonance with her words. That it really was so, may be drawn from her instantly proceeding, " I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by none other mean but only by the mercy of God, and the merits of the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ ; and I confess, when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague

and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins ; and yet I thank God of his goodness, that he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers.”

In the whole of this speech, the youthful heroine appears pointedly to have had reference not only to the doctrinal differences between the Reformed and Roman Catholic churches, but also to the disputations which had previously taken place between her and the popish divines who now surrounded her even in her last moments. She seems, indeed, to have been apprehensive that they might belie her dying sentiments ; and therefore she spoke both pointedly and decidedly as to the intercession of saints, works of supererogation, and purgatory, with prayers after death ; all of which points, though not expressly mentioned in her speech, are yet most clearly alluded to.

It appears, that no divine of the Reformed Church was permitted to attend her ; for on the conclusion of her speech, having knelt down to pray, she turned to Feckenham, the queen’s chaplain, saying, “ Shall I say this psalm ? ” To this the proud and bigoted confessor merely answered “ Yea ; ” when the mild sufferer repeated the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus*, in English, and in the most devout manner ; adding, to Feckenham, “ God will abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me

more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death." Her devotions ended, she stood up, and began to undress; first pulling off her gloves and handkerchief, which she delivered to Mrs. Tylney, her maid; handing also her book to the lieutenant's brother, Mr. Thomas Brydges.

On proceeding to untie her gown, the executioner stepped forward, and rudely attempted to assist her; but she mildly desired him to let her alone, and turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her in taking off the gown, and also her "froze paste and neckercher," giving to her at the same time a white handkerchief to tie over her eyes. The executioner now knelt down and asked her forgiveness, which she acceded to him most sweetly and willingly; when he desired her to stand upon some straw, and in doing this she first saw the fatal block. With that sight, however, she seemed not dismayed; but said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then knelt down, and said, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" To which the executioner answered, "No, madam."

The unhappy but patient victim now bound the handkerchief over her eyes; and, feeling for the block, said, "What shall I do? Where is it?" At this question, one of the persons on the scaffold guided her towards the block, on which she instantly laid her head, and then, stretching forth her body, exclaimed,

“ Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit ! ” A pause of one moment ensued—the axe fell—and the lovely and pious victim to ambition and bigotry rejoined her husband in heaven !

Fox, speaking of her conduct upon this awful occasion, says, that she most patiently, christianly, and constantly yielded to God her soul ; which, by a bad way, went to the best end. He adds, that thus were beheaded two innocents, in comparison of those who sate upon them ; for they did but, through ignorance, accept that which the others had willingly devised, and by open proclamation consented to take from others and give to them ; “ and verelie, how unwilling she was to take it upon her, there are yet living that can testify.” He then states, “ Judge Morgan, now, that gave the sentence against hir, shortlie after fell mad, and in his raving cried continuallie to have the Ladie Jane taken awaie from hym, and so ended his lyfe.” It is an interesting fact, hinted by Fuller, that it was reported she was “ as ladies wish to be who love their lords,” at the time of her suffering. “ Cruelty,” says he, “ to cut down the tree with blossoms on it ; and that that which hath saved the lives of many women, hastened her death : but God only knows the truth thereof.”

This day was long after called Black Monday, as the first day of a week which Strype calls a bloody

week of executions ; for in the same, in order to strike terror into the minds of the people, many new gallows were set up in London. Of these, there was one at every gate ; and others in Cheapside, Fleet-street, Charing-cross, Hyde-Park-Corner, &c. ; and on Wednesday, the fourteenth, no less than forty-seven suffered, of whom three were hanged in chains, and seven quartered, and their bodies and heads set upon the different gates of the city.

Three days afterwards, on the seventeenth of February, the Duke of Suffolk was brought to trial, and indicted for levying war against the queen, and adhering to Sir Thomas Wyatt, in order to depose the queen, and set the crown on the head of his daughter. To the indictment he answered, that it was not treason in a peer of the realm, as he was, to raise his power and make proclamation to avoid strangers out of the land, alluding to the Spaniards.

It was replied, he had done more ; that he had opposed the queen's lieutenant the Earl of Huntingdon, at the head of her majesty's forces, which was certainly high treason. To that charge he answered, that he did not know the Earl was her lieutenant ; that his brother had advised him to go down into the country, where he would be safe among his tenants ; but if he staid in town, he would be committed to the Tower again.

The peers, as the record asserts, not satisfied with

this trifling defence, found the duke guilty, and sentence was passed on him as a traitor*.

Little time was afforded to the unhappy and desolated parent to reflect on the miseries produced by his ambition; for six days after the trial, and on the twenty-third of February, he also was brought out to the place of execution on Tower-hill; where, it is said, he confessed that he suffered justly for his disloyalty to the queen. He also desired the people to take warning by his misfortune, and behave themselves dutifully to the government; and he professed his belief of the Christian religion, but without any distinction as to communions, except in saying, that he rested his salvation upon no other means than the mercy of God, through the sufferings of our blessed Saviour; thereby evidently denying all belief in the intercession of saints—a point

* The fate of Suffolk is thus briefly related in the Lord-Stewards' Book, in the British Museum (Harl. Coll. 2194.), already quoted:

“ Henry Fitzallan, Lord Maltravers, and Lord-Steward of her Majestie's Houshold, was Lord High Steward of England att the arraignment of Henry Lord Grey, Duke of Suffolke, father of the Lady Jane, married to Guilford Dudley.

“ This Henry Duke of Suffolke, beinge condemned by his peeres for combyninge in rebellion wth Wyat against the queene and her proceedings wth Spayne, had sentence of death pronounced against him, wth hee suffered the 23d of February, upon the Tower-hill, when he most Xristanly made profession of his faith wth greate repentance of his fact.”

then of great difference between the Reformed and Catholic churches.

The widowed duchess survived the duke and her lovely daughter some years, not dying until 1563; but Camden observes, that she forgot her greatness so far as to accept for her husband Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumstances (one of her own domestics), which, how much soever it might tend to her discredit, yet seemed to answer the view with which it was done, by contributing to her security.

Of Lady Jane's two sisters, it is sufficient to remark, that Lady Katharine was repudiated, or, perhaps, her betrothing only with Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, set aside for political reasons, through the cautious policy of the earl. This may be supposed a most unhappy event for the fair Katharine, if Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, is correct, when he says, "This Heraclita, or Lady of Lamentation, thus repudiated, was seldome seen with dry eyes for some years together, sighing out her sorrowful condition; so that though the roses in her cheeks looked very wan and pale, it was not for want of watering:" though she recovered her grief, and was afterwards married to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, yet privately, and without the license of Queen Elizabeth. But the pregnancy of Lady Hertford becoming known, the queen fined the earl 15,000*l.* and committed him a prisoner to the Tower, as was his lady also, and under strict orders

of all intercourse being forbidden. Love, however, found the way for their meeting privately, until the earl was liberated; and the lady died in 1567, after nine years' imprisonment.

The younger sister, the Lady Mary, as Fuller observes, frightened with the infelicity of her two sisters, forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love, and none need fear, Martin Keyes, of Kent, Esq. who was a judge at court (but only of doubtfull caste of dice, being serjeant-porter), and died without issue, in 1578. Perhaps we ought also to add of her, on the authority of Baker, that she was "somewhat deformed."

Little is now left, but to record the fate of the Duchess Dowager of Northumberland, mother of Lord Guildford Dudley.

It was well observed of her, that she was a singular instance of the vicissitudes of fortune; having been the wife of one of the greatest men of the age; living to see her husband lose his head upon a scaffold; to see one son share his father's fate; another escape it only by dying in prison; and the rest of her children living but by permission. Yet, amidst all this distress, which was heightened by the confiscation of her property, she displayed great firmness of mind, though left destitute of fortune and of friends, until the queen was persuaded to make her some restitution. A short period before her death, which happened at the manor-

house of Chelsea, she wrote her own will, the items of which strongly mark the manners of the times. To Sir Henry Sidney, her son-in-law (for she had five daughters, in addition to eight sons), she left the green and gold hangings of her gallery at Chelsea, embroidered with the family arms; and to his lady, her daughter Mary, she bequeathed her gown of black barred velvet, furred with sables; and a gown, with a high back of fair wrought velvet. To her daughter Katharine, the bequest was a gown of purple velvet, a summer-gown, and a kirtle of new purple velvet to it, and sleeves. To a daughter of Lord Cobham she left a gown of black barred velvet, furred with lizards; and her green parrot was bequeathed to the Duchess of Alva, having nothing else worthy of her.

One expression in this testamentary document deserves copying: "My will is, earnestly and effectually, that little solempnitie be made for me, for I had ever have a thousand foldes my debts to be paid, and the poore to be given unto, than anye pompe to be shewed upon my wretched carkes: therefore to the wormes will I go, as I have afore wrytten, in all poyntes, as you wyll answer yt afore God. And you breke any one jot of yt, your wylls hereafter may chaunce to be as well broken."

In fact she had previously, or "afore," as she expresses it, given the most particular directions, not a

little remarkable for the fastidious delicacy which they display: "After I am departyd from this worlde, let me be wonde up in a shete, and put in a coffyn of woode, and so layde in the grounde with such funerals as parteyneth to the buri'all of a corse. I will at my yere's mynde have such devyne service as myne executors shall thynke mete, with the whole arms of father and mother upon the stone grevan; nor in no wyse to let me be opened after I am dead. I have not loved to be very bold afore women, much more wolde I be lothe to come into the hands of any lyving man, be he physician or surgeon."

It is somewhat remarkable that, in opposition to these strict orders, she was interred on the 1st Feb. 1555, with great pomp and solemnity; having also a superb monument erected over her grave, in More's Chapel, in Chelsea Church, still in existence.

To close this eventful record of past times, we shall merely add, that the written memorials of

LADY JANE GREY,

are thus enumerated by Walpole, in his List of Noble Authors:—Four Latin Epistles—three to Bullinger, and one to her sister the Lady Katharine; printed in a book called "*Epistolæ ab Ecclesiæ Helveticæ Reformatoribus, vel ad eos scriptæ, &c. Tiguri, 1742.*"

octavo." The fourth was written the night before her death, in a Greek Testament, in which she had been reading, and which she sent to her sister.

Her Conference with Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, who was sent to convert her to Popery.

A Letter to Dr. Hardinge, her father's chaplain, who had apostatized; but the authenticity of which we have already stated to be doubtful.

A Prayer for her own Use, during her Confinement.

Four Latin Verses, written in prison with a pin.

Her Speech on the Scaffold.

The Complaint of a Sinner.

The Duty of a Christian.

Walpole also mentions the Letters or Notes, written in the Manual of Prayers, already recorded; and she is said, both by Hollinshed and Sir Richard Baker, to have written some other things; but these authors do not specify them, nor say where they are to be found.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

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